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EDITED BY E. LETHBRIDGE, M.A.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away,—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART.—I. FOREIGN ADVENTURERS IN INDIA.

AFTER the failures of the direct attempts made by Dupleix, by Lally, and by Suffren to establish French domination in Southern India, there remained to the Latin race but one mode of counteracting the progress of the English. That mode may be described in a few words. To enable the princes of India to meet the English successfully in the field it was necessary, above all things, to impart to their troops a thorough knowledge of European discipline and a complete acquaintance with the system of European strategy. To this somewhat venturesome task the sons of France bent themselves with untiring energy. They gave to it often their lives, almost always their every faculty. They had much to aid them. The native princes who employed them knew at least that their hatred of England was not feigned ; that they had nothing so much at heart as the humiliation of the rival of their own country. They therefore gave them, almost always, a confidence without stint. Their behests were but rarely refused. They worked under the avowed sanction and with the authority of the prince whom they served. And if they did not succeed, their want of success is to be attributed rather to the jealousies which prevented combination amongst the native princes, than to any shortcomings on the part of the ablest and most influential amongst them.

Of all these adventurers, de Boigne was, with one exception, the ablest and the most successful. Born at Chambéry, the 8th March 1751, the son of a furrier, Benoit de Boigne was at an early age sent to study law at the college of his native town. But he had scarcely attained the age of seventeen when his adventurous nature impelled him to renounce his studies, and to seek excitement in a career of arms. In 1768, then, he entered the regiment of Clare, a regiment in the Irish brigade in the service of France, and then commanded, in the absence of Lord Clare, by Colonel Leigh. De Boigne joined the regiment with the rank of ensign at Landrecies, and applied all the ardour of his youth to master the science of his profession. In this task he received great encouragement and assistance from Colonel

Leigh, and under his tuition de Boigne attained a complete knowledge of the art of war as it was understood in those days.

After serving in garrison for three years and a half at Landrecies, the regiment of Clare was ordered to Dunkerque to embark for the Isle of France. The regiment, having taken its tour of duty in the island for eighteen months, returned to France, and, disembarking at L'Orient, was ordered to Béthune.

This happened in 1773. France was then at peace with all the world, and no prospect of war seemed to loom in the future. The promotion of de Boigne had been slow; and, beginning to feel disgusted with a life so monotonous and so devoid of enterprise, he asked himself if it would not be advisable to seek another scene for the occupation of the abilities he felt that he possessed. It chanced that Russia was then at war with Turkey. The Russian Government was in the habit in those days of welcoming eagerly, instructed officers into the ranks of its army. De Boigne resolved, then, to resign his commission in the French service and to offer himself to her northern ally.

His resignation was accepted, and de Boigne went to Turin. Obtaining there letters of introduction to Count Orloff, who commanded the Russian land and sea forces in the Grecian Archipelago, he returned to Marseilles and embarked on board the first ship sailing thence for Greece. Almost immediately on his arrival there he was appointed captain in a Greek regiment in the service of the Empress Catherine. This regiment formed a part of the army employed in besieging the Island of Tenedos. A detachment of it, to which de Boigne belonged, having been sent to effect a descent on that island, the Turks made a sortie, attacked the invaders in great force, and cut them off nearly to a man. De Boigne escaped with his life, but was taken prisoner and sent first to Chio and thence to Constantinople.

Seven months later the war came to an end, and de Boigne, with the other prisoners of war, was released. He had then attained the rank of major in the Russian army. Peace, however, had closed for him the avenues of further advancement. De Boigne then quitted the Russian service and embarked for Smyrna. Meeting in that town some Englishmen who had returned from India, he was so struck by their description of the adventurous life of that country, that he resolved to seek his fortune there. Returning to Constantinople he made his way to Aleppo, and joined there a caravan just setting out for Basrá. The caravan reached Bagdad in safety, but, as a furious war was then raging between the Turks and the Persians, the road thence to Basrá was deemed too dangerous to be traversed, and the caravan returned to Aleppo.

From that place de Boigne made his way as quickly as he could back to Smyrna and sailed thence to Alexandria. In

Foreign Adventurers in India.

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his journey from Alexandria to Rosetta he was shipwrecked and fell into the hands of the Arabs. These, with characteristic hospitality towards a stranger, befriended him, and by their aid he was able to reach Cairo. Here innumerable delays occurred, and it was owing to the kindness of the English consul, Mr. Baldwin, that means were at last provided for him to reach India. He embarked at Suez and sailed thence at the end of the year 1777 for Madras.

Amongst those whom de Boigne had met in his European wanderings was an English nobleman, Earl Percy. With him he had formed a friendship, and Lord Percy had in consequence furnished him with letters to Lord Macartney and to Warren Hastings. On his arrival at Madras de Boigne wished at first to act independently of the British Government. But the circumstances of the time were against him. The British were on the eve of their last war with Haider Ali, and it is natural to suppose that they should be unwilling to afford opportunities for foreign adventurers to find their way to the camp of that formidable leader. Having no other resource, then, de Boigne, who had been a major in the Russian service, accepted the rank of ensign in the 6th Regiment Madras Native Infantry.

The war broke out immediately afterwards. It happened that the 6th Regiment N. I. was one of those under the command of Colonel Baillie when that officer was attacked by the combined forces of Haider and Tippú at Perambakam in September 1780. A few days before that fatal conflict, however, two companies of the 6th Regiment had been sent to escort supplies of grain to the main army. With these two companies was de Boigne, and in this manner he escaped the almost entire destruction which befell the main body of his regiment.

Shortly after this de Boigne quitted the English service. Various reasons have been assigned for this step.* But he himself undoubtedly stated the truth when he affirmed that in a service of progressive promotion there was at his age no chance of his ever attaining to high command. He resolved therefore to return to Europe by way of Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Persia.

With this object in view he came round to Calcutta and presented to Warren Hastings Lord Percy's letter and one with which he had been provided by Lord Macartney. That illustrious statesman gave him a warm and cordial reception; entirely approved of his design to return to Europe by the route he had indicated; and furnished him with letters to the British residents at the various native courts he would be likely

* *Vide* Ferdinand Smith's Sketch, and the *Memoire sur la carrière du* pages 67-68; the article de Boigne *Général Comte de Boigne*, in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*;

to visit *en route*, as well as to the independent native princes in alliance with the British Government.

At Lakhnáo, the first city which he visited on his travels, de Boigne was extremely well received by the Nawáb, to whom he had been presented by the resident. Not only was a khilat of the value of 4,000 rupees bestowed upon him, but the Nawáb presented him likewise with a bill on the bankers of Kábul for 6,000 rupees, and another for an equal amount on those of Kámlahár. At Lakhnáo de Boigne remained five months, making many friends amongst the English officers and studying their system. He then went on to Dehli, where he arrived at the end of the month of August.

The Emperor of Dehli at that time was Shah Alam ; his minister, Mirza Shaffi. Without the aid of the latter it was impossible for de Boigne to obtain an interview with the Emperor, and Mirza Shaffi was in the camp before Agra. Thither, accordingly, de Boigne repaired.

It was during his sojourn in this camp that de Boigne's ideas took a direction which influenced his whole life. Rebuffed by the minister, who refused to allow him to be presented to Shah Alam, he turned his attention to the political events passing before his eyes. Noting the rivalry of the various native princes, the discipline of their armies, the ignorance and want of knowledge of their generals, it occurred to him that a great career was open to an instructed European soldier. The uncavined masses were fermenting all about him. Let the instructed European soldier but procure for himself the authority to lead but one of those masses, and his master would become the chief of all his rivals, if not indeed the ruler of India. The idea grew daily ; it ripened quickly into feasibility ; thenceforth the career of de Boigne was determined.

At that time the Ráná of Góhad was closely besieged in his fort by Mádhají Sindia. To offer himself to the latter, immensely superior in power to the Ráná, would have been a folly. In such a case even had Mádhají accepted his services, no credit to himself could possibly have resulted. But to enter the service of the besieged Ráná, and by skill and dexterity to paralyse the movements of his enemy, would be to gain a reputation and to acquire a moral power such as would open out the brightest prospects for the future. Thus reasoning, de Boigne made secretly the following proposition to the Ráná. He offered, in consideration of a certain stipulated sum of money, to raise two thousand men at Agra, one thousand at Jaipúr, four thousand at Dehli, and one thousand near Góhad ; to concentrate these troops with all imaginable secrecy at a point on the frontier of the Ráná's territory ; and with them to attack the besieging force in the rear, and drive it from his dominions.

The Ráná of Góhad, without declining this offer, did not at once accept it. He hoped rather to be rescued from his perilous condition by the intervention of the English. Meanwhile, however, he was not sufficiently careful to keep the secret. With the publicity he allowed to be imparted to the offer, the possibility of carrying it into execution vanished. De Boigne then broke off the negotiation, and offered his services to the Rájá of Jaipúr.

But before an answer could come from Jaipúr, de Boigne had accepted an invitation from Mr. Anderson, the British resident at the court of Mádhají, to visit him in his camp. Mádhají Sindia was then besieging Gwáliár. Thither accordingly de Boigne repaired, and agreed to remain there, the guest of Mr. Anderson, until he should receive the reply of the Rájá.

De Boigne received that reply at the end of October (1783). His offer was accepted. Before taking up the appointment, however, he thought it becoming to inform Warren Hastings officially of his intention to renounce his journey to Europe and to take service with the Rájá of Jaipúr. Warren Hastings, in reply, requested de Boigne to return in the first instance to Calcutta that he might inform him personally of the sentiments entertained by the Government of India regarding the course he proposed to pursue. De Boigne, though sensible of the arbitrary nature of this request, felt that his gratitude and his interest alike counselled him to comply with it. He returned accordingly to Calcutta,—no easy journey in those days. On his arrival there, Warren Hastings informed him that his requisition had been necessary because he, de Boigne, had given an official form to his letter, and that as such it had been laid before council; that as Governor-General in Council he could not give him authority to enter the service of a native prince, although, in his private capacity, he had no objection to his following such a course; and that if he chose to follow it, he would shut his eyes to his proceedings. The Governor-General added that he was about to set out for Lakhnáo, and that he hoped de Boigne would accompany him so far.

Armed with this power to act as he might think best, de Boigne accompanied the Governor-General to Lakhnáo, hastened thence to Agra, and obtaining there a small escort, pushed on towards Jaipúr. The difficulties, and they were not slight, which he encountered in his journey were surmounted, and in the spring of 1784 he reached Jaipúr.

But here disappointment awaited him. In the long interval which had elapsed between the acceptance of his offer and his arrival, the Jaipúr policy had changed. Peaceful counsels now prevailed, and the Rájá had no need of a general. To compensate de Boigne, however, for the trouble and expense which had been caused him, the Rájá presented him with ten thousand rupees.

Disappointed though not daunted, de Boigne repaired to Delhi. At this time the murder of Mirza Shaffi and the anarchy which had followed, had reawakened in the mind of Mádhají Sindia the hope of becoming master of the capital of the Moghols. He was fully sensible of the new difficulties which the power he might thus acquire would cause him : but, being able, farsighted, and ambitious, he was nursing his resources and seeking for means to meet the crisis which might arrive at any moment. At the time of de Boigne's arrival he was in the vicinity of Agra organising an expedition against Bandalkhand.

For this expedition de Boigne offered his services. He proposed to raise two regiments, each 850 strong : and to equip and organise them in the European fashion.

Mádhají knew de Boigne by reputation, and by something more. The offer he had made to the Ráná of Góhad had struck him at the time as betokening a daring and resolute nature ; and, subsequently, when de Boigne had passed a night in his camp on his way to join Mr. Anderson, Mádhají had caused his tent to be pillaged. The property then taken was restored, but the papers were retained. It is probable that a perusal of these confirmed the impression which the Góhad scheme had given birth to. Such a man, he thought, could scarcely fail to be an acquisition. He accepted, then, after a short delay, de Boigne's offer.

The terms agreed to by de Boigne were that he should receive a thousand rupees a month for himself, and eight rupees a month for each man, officers and privates indiscriminately. To enable himself to give a proper salary to the officers, de Boigne fixed the pay of the privates at rupees 5-8-0 each. This arrangement provided him with rupees 4,250 monthly for the officers.

The men were speedily raised ; but the drilling was a matter of more difficulty. De Boigne had resolved to teach them European drill, to arm them with European weapons, and to impart to them European discipline. "The labour which this imposed on an individual," writes Mr. Grant Duff, "can easily be conceived by any person acquainted with military affairs." It was, indeed, at the outset a task which required no ordinary patience, perseverance, and self-control. But at length he had the satisfaction of seeing the end attained. Five months after he had enlisted his men, he marched with two perfectly disciplined regiments to join, in Bandalkhand, the army commanded by Appa Khandó Ráo.

In the short campaign which followed, the two battalions under de Boigne constituted the entire infantry of the Márhátá army, the remainder being mainly cavalry and a few guns. As it was a campaign of sieges the bulk of the work fell, therefore, on his newly raised troops ; and this work they performed with valour and

with success. In the midst of his triumphs, however, de Boigne was called away to join the main army of Mádihájí at Dehli.

On the 22nd October 1784 the prime minister of the Emperor Shah Alam, Afrasiáb Khan, was murdered by the brother of the minister whose assassination he had instigated. In the terror that followed this murder all parties turned to Mádihájí. The Emperor invested him with a power virtually supreme. By his advice the Peshwa was nominated Wakil-úl-Mútlúk or Supreme Deputy of the Empire. Mádihájí was appointed Deputy of the Peshwa, Commander-in-chief of the Moghol armies, and the provinces of Agra and Dehli were confided to his management.

But Mádihájí was not too elated by his success. He was well aware that the power which had been conferred by acclamation in a time of terror, of difficulty, and of danger, would be disputed as soon as men's minds had begun to calm. He therefore took instant measures to strengthen his position, and amongst other precautions he summoned de Boigne and his battalions from Bandalkhand.

To describe fully the events which followed could only be effected by trenching upon ground already occupied.* I must be satisfied with referring, as briefly as may be, to the deeds of de Boigne himself. Thus, in May 1787, he fought at Lálsót for three days under the eyes of Mádihájí against the Patáns and Rajpúts, and when, on the third, the other infantry of Sindia's army, 14,000 in number, deserted to the enemy, de Boigne kept his men true to their colours. For eight consecutive days they continued, as they retreated, to repulse the enemy's attacks. At the battle of Chaksána, fought on the 24th April 1788 against the same enemies, Sindia confided the command of his right wing to a Frenchman, M. Lesteneau, and of his left to de Boigne, whilst the centre was commanded by a native, Sindia being in reserve with the cavalry. On this occasion de Boigne and Lesteneau not only repulsed the attacks made on their wings, but were prepared to render the victory decisive, had they been supported by the centre and the cavalry. But no prayers could induce either to advance, and the action, undecided, terminated by a retreat from the field. A few weeks later, however, an ample revenge was taken for these checks. On the 18th June, in the battle fought before Agra, the battalions of de Boigne and their leader contributed greatly to the victory obtained over the Patán chief. Less than four months later, de Boigne's battalions and the bulk of the Márhátá army, re-occupied Dehli. Mádihájí himself followed shortly after.

The splendid service rendered by the two battalions of de Boigne at Lálsót, at Agra, and at Chaksána, their fidelity when

* Keene's *Fall of the Moghul Empire*, a vivid and accurate account of the events in Hindustan from the death of Aurangzib to the beginning of the present century.

their irregular comrades had deserted, and their unvarying steadiness under fire, had particularly attracted the notice of Mádhají Sindia. But the prejudices of the Márhátá were still strong within him. When, therefore, de Boigne pointed out to him that these two battalions, though perfectly efficient, and capable even of retarding a defeat, were yet insufficient to decide the fortunes of a campaign; that it would be advisable to increase them to the strength of a *corps d'armée*, with artillery attached, Mádhají hesitated. Influenced partly, probably, by a dread to place in the hands of a European a small army obedient only to the orders of its immediate general; partly by the Márhátá leaning towards cavalry; partly also by the annihilation of his enemies and by the expense which the proposed scheme would entail, Mádhají resolved to defer his sanction. As, however, he indicated no fixed time for the announcement of a final decision, de Boigne regarded his reply as a veiled refusal. He therefore offered his resignation. Mádhají accepted it.

De Boigne left Dehli a comparatively rich man. It is stated that he owed the greater part of his wealth to the munificence of Mádhají, who thus showed his gratitude for the unequalled services rendered to him during the late campaigns. Certain it is that, renouncing his military career, he proceeded to Lakhnáo, and there on the advice of his old friend, Claude Martin, engaged in mercantile speculations which speedily augmented his capital. He was still engaged in these when he received from Mádhají pressing solicitations to re-enter his service, accompanied by an assurance that he would be at liberty to carry out the measures he had formerly proposed.

The fact was that Mádhají Sindia had not found his position by any means so assured as, in the first moment of his triumph, it had appeared to him. The Patán army had been beaten and dispersed, but its soldiers still existed. He was menaced from the north by the Afgháns, from the west by the Rajpúts, whilst he had perhaps even more to dread from the jealousy of Náná Farnawís, the minister of the Peshwa, and from the scarcely veiled hostility of the other chiefs of the Márhátás.

He felt the want, then, of just such a body of troops as de Boigne had proposed to raise,—troops who would surpass all his other troops in skill and discipline; who would obey one man, and that man impervious to intrigue, devoted to himself alone. In this extremity he bethought him of de Boigne; and upon that thought there speedily followed the missive of which I have spoken.

De Boigné was not deaf to the demand. Arranging, as speedily as was possible, his commercial affairs, which however he left in full action in the hands of agents, he hastened to Mathurá, where Mádhají then had his head quarters. His proposals

were at once agreed to. He was authorised to raise a *corps d'armée* consisting of thirteen battalions of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and sixty guns.

De Boigne went to his task with his accustomed energy. He reclaimed the two battalions he had drilled and commanded before. A third battalion was formed of the soldiers who had been raised and drilled by the Frenchman, Lesteneau, but who, mutinying for arrears of pay, had, on the advice of de Boigne, been disbanded. He had to enlist men from Rohilkhand and Oudh for seven more battalions. All these were dressed and drilled on the European principle. But, in addition to these ten battalions, de Boigne raised three more of Afgháns, dressed in their national costume, and armed with matchlocks and bayonets. For the service of the camp he raised five hundred *Méwátis*, dressed and armed as irregular troops.

The *corps d'armée* thus consisted of 8,500 regular infantry, 2,400 Afgháns, 500 *Méwátis*, 500 cavalry and 100 artillerymen. Each regiment was commanded by a European officer. These officers were men of all nations, many of them British, and in many instances respectable by birth, education and character.* There were always two European officers to each regiment, sometimes more. The non-commissioned officers were in the first instance taken from the three disciplined battalions. The colours of the corps were the national flag, the white cross, of Savoy.

* For its command de Boigne was granted a salary of Rs. 4,000 a month. To provide for this, as well as for the regular payment of the troops, Mádhají made over assignments of land to the charge and management of de Boigne, allowing him two per cent. upon the net revenue, in addition to his regular pay.†

By dint of great exertions the new *corps d'armée* was brought into a condition fitting it for active service early in the year 1790. An opportunity soon offered for the display of its efficiency. On the 20th June the Márhátá army engaged, near Patán, the Patáns under Ishmáil Beg, aided by the Rajpút troops of Jaipur and Jódhpúr. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Holkar, who had promised to aid Mádhají, held aloof. The Patáns three times charged through the infantry of de Boigne, cutting down the artillerymen at their guns. But the coolness of de Boigne and the discipline of his troops soon repaired this disaster. With re-serried ranks they attacked the too daring enemy and drove him back. Then there opened on both sides a heavy artillery fire. This ceasing on the side of the Márhátás at 6 o'clock in the evening, de Boigne placed himself at the head of his infantry and led them to the charge. The attack was irresistible.

* Grant Duff, vol. iii., Chapter ii. each regiment was fixed at 700.
Subsequently the number of men in † *Ibid.*

One by one the hostile positions were carried. At 9 o'clock the enemy were in complete flight, utterly disorganised, having lost all their guns,—ten battalions of their infantry having previously surrendered.

De Boigne then received orders to invade Jódhpúr. He proceeded at once to the siege of Ajmír, but learning that the Rájputs had assembled a considerable army at Mirtá, he left about 2,700 men to blockade Ajmír and started to attack the enemy.

At daybreak on the 12th September, de Boigne assailed the enemy's position. By 9 o'clock he had obtained a complete victory. He gained, this victory notwithstanding a false movement made by one of his lieutenants, and which for a time left his right wing exposed to the incessant charges of the Rahtór cavalry. The Savoyard, however, showed himself quite equal to the occasion. At 9 o'clock, as I have said, the Rájputs were beaten; at 10 o'clock their camp and all their guns and baggage were captured; at 3 P. M. the town of Mirtá was taken by assault. Peace followed this decisive victory.

Sindia had now satisfied himself as to the immense advantage he had derived from possessing a *corps d'armée* armed and disciplined on the European principle—and commanded by a de Boigne. The troops thus disciplined and thus organised had disposed of his Mahomedan and Rájput enemies, but he still looked for more at their hands. It must never be lost sight of that the great dream of Mádhají Sindia's life was to unite all the native powers of India in one great confederacy against the English. In this respect he was the most farsighted statesman that India has ever produced. But to bring about this great end it was necessary that, in addition to the power which he wielded at Dehli and in a part of Central India, he should be master of all the resources of the Márhátá empire. This he felt would be impossible until he could rid the Peshwa of the minister, Náná Farnawis, who was jealous of his reputation. Nor, he felt, could this end be obtained, unless he could dispose of Holkar, the agent and last hope of the Náná. His plan, then, was to crush Holkar; to proceed to Púna; and obtaining then from the Peshwa the requisite authority, to unite all India in a crusade against the English. It was a grand idea, one capable of realisation by Mádhají, but by him alone, and which, but for his death, would have been realised.

Full of these views, and preparing carefully for the conflict he saw looming in the future, Mádhají determined at this time to increase still further the force which had been so useful to him. De Boigne was authorised to increase it to 18,000 regular infantry, 6,000 irregulars, 2,000 irregular horse, 600 Afghán cavalry and 2,000 guns. The force thus raised was to be divided into three brigades, or, as it would be more proper to call them, divisions.

For their payment a tract of country between Mathurá and Delhi, and some lands east of the Jamna, comprising in all fifty-two districts yielding ultimately twenty-two lakhs of rupees, were assigned to de Boigne. That general was authorised to reserve to himself two per cent. of that revenue, in addition to his pay, now increased to 6,000 rupees a month, a sum which was doubled by other duly authorised emoluments. The fortress of Agra was assigned him as a depôt of small arms and cannon. Over these fifty-two districts, de Boigne was assigned, by Sindia, a power in civil and military matters entirely absolute. He fixed his headquarters at Aligarh.

It was while de Boigne was raising and drilling his brigades, casting guns, and bringing the districts under his sway into order; whilst Mádhají Sindia was endeavoring to arrange the scheme which was the dream of his later years, that war broke out between the British and Tippú Sultan. This war was a blow to Mádhají. He disapproved this isolated attack upon a power to which united India might only possibly be a match. Still more was he annoyed and enraged at finding that the Peshwa, guided by Náná Farnawís, had entered into an alliance with the common enemy. Nothing, Mádhají had always felt, could be more noxious to the general cause of the native princes of India, than the union of one chief with their most formidable rival to put down another chief. Still, for the moment, he was powerless to prevent this fatal action. He was forced to content himself with husbanding his resources, with guarding against an attack from the north, and with preparing his army for the great event to which he looked forward. Having done all that was possible in this respect, he set out for Púna, determined, after repressing Holkar, and unseating Náná Farnawís, to obtain the chief power himself, and, wielding it, to make one supreme effort to drive the British from Hindostan.

Mádhají left de Boigne and the greater part of his *crops d'armée* behind. He took with him as escort only two battalions commanded by Hessing and Filoze.* He arrived at Púna the 11th June 1793.

Scarcely, however, had Mádhají crossed the borders of his own territories than his enemies began to raise their heads. First, the widow of Najíf Khan, a former prime minister at the Imperial Court of Delhi, refused to surrender the fort of Kanúnd to Sindia's officers. De Boigne sent one of his brigades, under the orders of M. Perron, to compel her. The often-defeated Ishmáíl Beg raised troops to support her. He encountered Perron under the walls of Kanúnd, and though beaten, yet succeeded in pene-

trating into the fort with a considerable body of men. The defence was prolonged in consequence, but the widow having been killed, Ishmáil Beg, distrusting the garrison, surrendered himself and the fort to the French leader.

But this was not all. Taking advantage of the absence of Mádhají, Túkají Holkar, the minister of the famous Ahalya Bae, suddenly crossed the river Chambal in great force, and marched towards Rajpútáná, pretending that the aggressions of Mádhají's agent, Gopál Ráo Bháo, forced him to this act of open hostility.

Gopál Ráo Bháo had but a small force under him in Rajpútáná. Aware that Túkají was supported by a body of native troops armed and drilled in the European fashion, and commanded by the Chevalier Dudrence, Gopál Ráo sent pressing messages to de Boigne, and to Lakhiwa Dádá commanding the main body of Sindia's cavalry, to join him without delay. De Boigne set out at once from Aligarh at the head of nine thousand infantry and joined Gopál Ráo before the latter had been molested by Holkar. Lakhwa Dádá brought in his cavalry at the same time. De Boigne immediately assumed command of the combined force, consisting of 9,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and about forty guns, and forthwith marched upon the enemy. Túkají became now aware of the double mistake he had committed; in the first place, in becoming the aggressor; in the second, in not at once crushing the small force opposed to him. He did his utmost, then, to avoid a general engagement. But de Boigne was not to be denied. He followed him up vigorously, and at last, on the 20th September, had the satisfaction of finding himself in front of his enemy posted at the pass of Lakhairí on the road leading from Kanúnd to Ajmir.

Túkají and Dudrenec had under them four battalions of sepoy trained by Dudrenec, about thirty thousand irregulars, mostly cavalry, and thirty-eight guns. The position they occupied was very formidable. The pass of Lakhairí was extremely narrow; covered in front by wet ground, and impossible to be turned, both flanks being guarded by thick woods and rising ground.

De Boigne felt as he reconnoitred this strong position that he would have to employ all his resources. Yet his own position was not without some considerable countervailing advantages. His men were covered by tangled forests impervious to cavalry. His attack might fail, yet his position could not be forced. All other things being equal, victory must incline, he saw, to the side which possessed the greatest number of steady infantry. That side was his own.

There was nothing for it but to move straight on. He placed himself accordingly at the head of his tried battalions and batteries, and ordered them to advance. No sooner, however, did

they emerge from the forest than the enemy's artillery opened a tremendous and effective fire upon them. De Boigne continued, however, to advance, and his own guns were soon sufficiently clear of the jungle to take up a position and reply. But they had scarcely fired half a dozen rounds before an event happened which might have been fatal in its consequences. The fire from the enemy's guns caused the explosion first of one tumbril, and then immediately afterwards of twelve others contiguous to it. The effect might have been made decisive. Túkají at once launched forth his cavalry to make it so. But de Boigne was equal to the occasion. He caused his men to fall back rapidly into the jungle. They reached it before Túkají's cavalry, feebly handled, could attack them. A concentrated fire of musketry sent back the horsemen more rapidly than they had advanced. A charge from Sindia's cavalry completed their overthrow. Thenceforward they took no part in the contest.

The cavalry having disappeared, de Boigne once more advanced his infantry and his guns. This time there was no mistake. The pass was so narrow that not more than three columns could act abreast. Covering these with five hundred Rohilla skirmishers, he crossed the wet ground and charged. But the battalions of Dudrenec did not give ground. They stood, and fought, and died at their post. But they were as one to three. The greatest number must inevitably prevail. And it happened so. After the most desperate conflict he had ever been engaged in, the troops of de Boigne stood the victors on the summit of that fatal pass! There was no one for them to pursue. The enemy's cavalry had disappeared, his infantry had died fighting; the guns had been captured!

This victory broke for a time the power of Holkar, and left Mádhají undisputed master of the situation. De Boigne followed it up by marching against the Rájá of Jaipur who had shown a disposition to take advantage of Holkar's outburst. De Boigne's movements were so rapid and his plans so well laid that the Rájá was glad to compromise by submission, based on the payment of his arrears of tribute, and an immediate sum of seventy lakhs of rupees. De Boigne then returned to Aligarh, marching by Alwar, the Rájá of which place had some years before displayed great loyalty to Sindia in very critical circumstances. Here he had an audience of the Rájá. An incident, which occurred at this audience is thus related in de Boigne's memoirs. "One day when the Rájá gave audience to the general, whom he had made to sit near him, M. de Boigne observed the minister of the Rájá, who was standing behind his master, bend down and whisper into his ear some words in the Persian language—a language which the general did not understand. The Princep replied only by a sign

of disapproval, and by a look in which anger and indignation were painted. The general's vakil turned pale. The conversation nevertheless continued as before, and the audience terminated without the general having conceived the least suspicion. But in going out of the palace he was informed by his vakil—who knew Persian and who had overheard the words whispered by the minister—that the latter had proposed to the Rájá to assassinate de Boigne in the hall of audience." De Boigne took no notice of the incident.

The power of Mádhají Sindia was now consolidated in Hindostan. While his armies had been triumphing in Rájputáná his policy had been gaining ground at Pána, whither, on his request, de Boigne had expedited ten thousand of his trained infantry under the command of Perron. Mádhají, in fact, was on the point of crossing the threshold to attain which had been the dream of his later years. His plans had been successful everywhere; and he was on the eve of gaining the pinnacle which would have enabled him to form one vast combination against the English, when he was attacked by fever and died (12 February 1794).

With him the fabric raised with so much patience, so much skill, and so much foresight, fell to the ground. His successor, Daolat Ráo, was a boy of fifteen, with a character which, if unformed, still showed the germs of waywardness and of a want of self-control.

At the time of Mádhají's death, de Boigne was virtually governor of Hindostan. Daolat Ráo confirmed him in this appointment, and he held it, resisting the advances made him by the partisans of the blind Emperor, Shah Alam, till the end of 1795. In the interval, feeling his health weakened, he had more than once asked permission to resign; but Daolat Ráo had as often begged him to remain. At last, at the end of 1795, he yielded to his urgent solicitations, and granted him permission to leave for Europe, still retaining him in his service.

De Boigne bade farewell to the officers of his army in February 1796, and set out for Calcutta. He took with him the regiment of cavalry which was his own peculiar property. He had offered this regiment to Sindia, but Daolat Ráo proposed to pay for it only on the return of de Boigne to India. On his way through Lakhnáo he offered it to the Nawáb, but they could not agree as to the terms. Finally he offered it to the English government; Lord Cornwallis took it on the general's own conditions. These were five hundred rupees for each horse, or for the entire corps, consisting of six hundred horses, one hundred camels, four pieces of light artillery, and some draught cattle, 3,60,000 rupees. The men at the same time entered the British service.

De Boigne embarked for Europe in September 1796, and

arrived in London in January 1797. There he married Mademoiselle d'Osmond, daughter of the Marquis d'Osmond. The marriage, however, was not happy. He remained principally in England during the Empire, but shortly after its fall he settled at the Villa Buisson near Chambéry. He spent the last years of his life in making a philanthropic use of the enormous fortune he had acquired. In Chambéry itself he built a theatre, and a college for the Jesuits, and embellished the town by new and handsome streets. When he died on the 21st June 1830 he left 1,200,000 francs to build a hospital for old men; 500,000 for a hospital for the insane; 300,000 for the permanent relief of beggars; 200,000 francs for new beds in other hospitals,* and 100,000 francs for the education of young girls. To his wife he left a life income of 600,000 francs.

It is impossible to part with de Boigne without adding some details regarding his person, his character, and his mode of administration. The following somewhat prolix description was written by a contemporary, one who knew him personally, in the year 1797:—“De Boigne is formed by nature and education to guide and command: his school acquirements are much above mediocrity: he is a tolerable Latin scholar, and reads, writes, and speaks French, Italian, and English, with ease and fluency. He is not deficient in a general acquaintance with books, and possesses great knowledge of the world. He is extremely polite, affable, pleasant, humorous, and vivacious; elegant in his manners, resolute in his determinations, and firm in his measures; remarkably well versed in the mechanism of the human mind, and has perfect command over himself. To the political subtlety of the Italian school he has added consummate oriental intrigue; made his approaches to power in disguise, and only showed himself when too strong to be resisted. On the grand stage where he has acted a brilliant and important part for these ten years, he is dreaded and idolised, feared and admired, respected and beloved. Latterly the very name of de Boigne conveyed more terror than the thunder of his cannons. A singular instance of which I shall relate *en passant*. Najaf Kúli Khan in his last moments advised his Begam to resist in the fort of Kanúnd the efforts of his enemies, who would assuredly grasp, on his demise, at the small remnants of his patrimony; ‘resist,’ said he, ‘but if de Boigne appears, yield.’ He will be long regretted, long recollected in India. His justice was uncommon, and singularly well-proportioned between severity and relaxation. He possessed the happy art of gaining the confidence of surrounding princes and subjects. He was active and

* Letter of LONGINUS, to the *Telegraph* newspaper, dated 2nd January 1797.

persevering to a degree which can only be conceived or believed by those who were spectators of his indefatigable labours from the time he raised eight battalions till his departure from his station. I have seen him daily rise with the sun, survey his *Karkhana* (arsenal), inspect his troops, enlist recruits, direct the vast movements of three brigades, raise resources and encourage manufacturers for their arms, ammunitions, and stores ; harangue in his durbar, give audience to ambassadors, administer justice, regulate the civil and revenue affairs of a *Jaidad* (province) of twenty lakhs of rupees, listen to a multitude of letters from various parts on various important matters ; dictate replies, carry on an intricate system of intrigue in different courts ; superintend a private trade of a lakh of rupees, keep his accounts, his private and public correspondence, and direct and move forward a most complex political machine. All this he did without any European assistance. He used to say that any ambitious person who reposes confidence in another risks the destruction of his views. * * * * * In person he is above six feet high, giant-boned, large limbs, strong featured, and with piercing eyes. There is something in his countenance which depicts the hero, and compels us to yield implicit obedience. * * * * * It has often been a subject of surprise to many how de Boigne could so long and so invariably aggrandise his power whilst many adventurers in the same line have repeatedly failed. Setting his talents, perseverance, and policy aside, there is another cause which is not generally known or considered. Other Europeans who have attempted the project which de Boigne realised, failed from the want of a fixed and sufficient fund to pay their troops. De Boigne's penetrating genius foresaw and obviated this fatal error. Soon after the establishment of his two brigades, he persuaded Mádhají Sindia to consign some certain pergunnahs for their payments. This was done in 1793. A *Jaidad* producing sixteen lakhs per annum was granted for the expense of his army, which still continues appropriated to that purpose. * * * * * This *Jaidad* has been augmented by the attention and equity of de Boigne to twenty lakhs a year, and is in as high a state of cultivation as the most fertile parts of Banáras ; and the ryots are as happy as sensual beings can be, abstracted from intellectual enjoyments."

This contemporary account is in many points confirmed by the remarks given in the memoir of his life published at Chambéry in 1829. " M. de Boigne," it is there stated, " did not limit his cares to the concerns of his army ; he directed at the same time his attention to the provinces which Sindia had confided to him. He introduced into them the greatest order. The collection of the public revenue was indeed made by the military authorities according to the custom of the country. But the amounts to be

received had been settled with justice, and they were fixed. It was this that caused the collections to be realised with greater regularity and with less difficulty than is the case generally in India. He had two offices of account, the one serving to control the other. In one, the accounts were kept in French ; in the other all the entries were written in Persian. At the end of each month the statement of receipts and expenditure was transmitted to the Government.

"It was inevitable that so many details, so multiplied and so varied, should occupy all the time of the general ; but the importance of his mission and the desire by which he was actuated to carry it to a successful end inspired him with an activity which sufficed for everything. He used personally to inspect the works going on in the arsenal ; to visit the parade ground daily, for some hours, there to make the troops manœuvre and to pass them in review. From the parade ground he used to return to his office, there to attend to administrative matters.

"As the army never ceased to be the particular object of his attention, his troops became formidable alike for their numbers and for their perfect discipline. On this subject we quote the honourable testimony of an English writer. "It was not the least of the advantages arising from General de Boigne's merit," writes the *Bengal Journal* of the 18th September 1790, "that, in his military capacity, he should have softened, by means of an admirable perseverance, the ferocious and almost savage character of the Márhátás. He submitted to the discipline and to the civilisation of European armies, soldiers who till then had been regarded as barbarians ; and to such an extent did he succeed, that the rapacious license which had formerly been common amongst them came at last to be looked upon as infamous even by the meanest soldier."

Such was the opinion formed of de Boigne by those who lived in his times and who knew him personally. To us, who can look back on all that he accomplished, and who can form a tolerably accurate idea of the difficulties he must have had to encounter, he stands out as pre-eminently the foremost European figure between the departure of Warren Hastings and the arrival of Marquess Wellesley. It was de Boigne who made it possible for Sindia to rule in Hindostan, at the same time that he controlled the councils of Púna. It was through de Boigne alone that Mádhaj's great dream, dissolved by his death, became possible of realisation. But for de Boigne the power of the Márhátás had never become so formidable, had never been able to offer a resistance to the British so determined and so prolonged. It was de Boigne who introduced into the North-

West Provinces, the germs of that civil administration which the English have since successfully developed. I cannot do better, in concluding this sketch of his career, than to quote the apposite language of the historian of the fall of the Moghul Empire. "Though moving in an obscure scene," writes Mr. Keene,* "de Boigne was one of the great personages of the World's Drama; and much of the small amount of civil and military organisation upon which the British Empire of Hindostan was ultimately founded is due to his industry, skill, and valour."

II.

The commandants of the several brigades raised by de Boigne and his successors will now come under review. The first brigade, raised in 1792-3, was originally commanded by Colonel Fremont. He was succeeded in 1794 by Colonel Perron; the latter, in 1797, by Colonel Dugeon; he, the following year, by Colonel Duprat; Colonel Duprat, in 1797, by Colonel Sutherland, and Colonel Sutherland, in 1802, by Colonel Pohlmann.

The second brigade was originally commanded by Colonel Perron. On his transfer to the first brigade, in 1794, Major Gardner succeeded him. Major Sutherland replaced Gardner in 1795, and Major Pohlmann Sutherland in 1799. In 1802 Sutherland and Pohlmann changed places, and the following year Sutherland was replaced by Colonel Hessian.

The third brigade was raised in 1795. Its first commandant was Captain Pedrons. He was replaced in 1801 by Major Bourquin.

A fourth brigade was raised in 1803. Of this Colonel Dudrenez was the commandant. A fifth, raised the same year, was allotted to Major Browning.

Besides these there were, in 1803, attached to Sindia's army the following additional brigades: that of Filoze, consisting of eight battalions of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and forty-five guns; that of Sombre, composed of six battalions of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and thirty-five guns; that of Shepherd, attached to Ambaji Inglia, numbering five battalions, five hundred cavalry and twenty-five guns.

Before proceeding to deal with the men whose names I have mentioned and some of whom filled a great part in the history of the period, I propose to give a detailed account of the internal economy of the brigades as finally settled by de Boigne.

A brigade was composed of eight battalions. Each battalion comprised within itself infantry and artillery. Each was com-

* *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, by Henry George Keene. London: W. H. Allen.

manded by a captain having under him a lieutenant, either European, or European by descent. A battalion had eight companies of infantry, each commanded by a subadar, aided by two jemadars, one kót havildar, three havildars, four naiks, and fifty-two sepoy. The artillery of the same battalion consisted of one sergeant-major (European) and five European gunners, one jemadar, one havildar, five naiks, thirty-five gólandáz, five tindals, thirty-five klássis, twenty bildars, thirty gáriwáns, four ironsmiths, and four carpenters. A battalion had also a native surgeon, and a complement of matsádís, water-carriers, and the like. Every battalion had four hundred and eighty stand of arms, four field-pieces, one howitzer, five tumbrils, one hundred and twenty bullocks, and two native carts. Every gun had constantly ready with it three hundred rounds of shot and one hundred rounds of grape. A howitzer had fifty stone shells and fifty rounds of grape. The monthly pay of the native officers and men of a battalion was about four thousand five hundred rupees. The pay of the officers was as follows: A colonel received 3,000 rupees; a lieutenant-colonel 2,000; a major 1,200; a captain 400; a captain-lieutenant 300; a lieutenant 200; an ensign 150. These rates were increased fifty per cent. when the officers concerned were serving in the Dekhan. The men received, under the same circumstances, a proportional increase. Besides their pay, officers commanding brigades, whether colonels, lieutenant-colonels, or majors, received one hundred rupees a month as table allowance.

A brigade of eight battalions consisted of six thousand men. Besides the battalion complement of guns above detailed, the brigade had attached to it three battering guns and two mortars with men to serve them. Each had likewise two hundred irregular cavalry and five hundred irregular infantry (Kohillas).

The battalions were named after famous cities or forts, such as Dehli, Agra, Búrhánpúr. The men were disciplined according to the English regulations of 1780, then in force in the British army. The regular infantry were armed with muskets and bayonets, manufactured at Agra; the irregulars with match-locks and bayonets. The cavalry were well mounted. Seven hundred of them were armed with match-locks and swords; five hundred with carbines, pistols and swords; they were drilled in the European fashion.*

* I have taken all these details from a curious old book entitled '*A Sketch of the rise, progress, and termination of the regular corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the Service of the Native Princes of India,*

by Lewis Ferdinand Smith, late Major in Daulát Rao Sindia's Service. The book was published at the beginning of the century, and is very scarce.

I propose now to consider the *personnel* of these battalions and brigades. Of the first on the list, Colonel Fremont, I have been unable to collect any interesting details. He would seem to have been amongst the first Frenchmen who joined de Boigne, for I find him commanding a brigade of six battalions in 1792, and storming at their head the hill fort of Báláhárá, sixty miles to the east of Jaipúr. Again, in 1794, he commanded a brigade of eight battalions at an action which took place at Datá in Bandalkhand. It is probable that he died shortly after that action, for in the year following it, the command of his brigade devolved on Perron, and his name ceases to be mentioned.

Perron was a very remarkable adventurer. He came out to India in the year 1774 as a common sailor on board the French frigate the *Sardaigne*. Being a man of energy, ambition, and strength of will, he quitted the naval service, and strove by various means to make a fortune in the country. It was not, however, till he made the acquaintance of de Boigne in 1789 that he very decidedly ameliorated his condition. De Boigne had just then acceded to the urgent solicitations of Mádhají Sindia by agreeing to re-enter his service. He was in want of officers. Struck by the energetic temper displayed by Perron, he offered him the post of captain-lieutenant in his second brigade. Perron jumped at the offer, and at once distinguished himself and won the heart of his chief by his attention to duty, his courage, and his activity. The camp became his world, and he devoted himself with all the ardour of his nature to take a leading part in it. He distinguished himself so much at the battles of Mirtá and Patán, that de Boigne soon after entrusted him with an independent command. He was sent in 1792 with his brigade to reduce the fort of Kanúnd. How he succeeded on this occasion I have related in the preceding section. For this service he was promoted to the rank of major. He then rejoined de Boigne and was present at the well-contested battle of Lakhairí. The following year he was detached by his chief at the head of his brigade to Púna, to take there also the command of the troops which had accompanied Mádhají Sindia to that court under the command of Hessing and Filoze. His whole regular force amounted then to 18,000 men. He was at Púna, when Mádhají died (12 February 1794).

Into the intrigues which immediately followed the succession of Daolat Ráo Sindia it is not necessary here to enter. It will be sufficient to state that the unsettled condition of affairs at the court of the Peshwa roused the ambition of Nizám Ali Khan, the Nizám of Haidarabád. This intriguing prince was induced to believe the power of the Mahomedan rule might be revived

in the ruins of Púna. He accordingly assembled an army at Bíd'r, and advanced thence towards the Márhátá frontier.

Nizám Ali had some reason for his confidence. Besides some seventy thousand irregular infantry he had serving in his army fifteen thousand regulars, commanded by a very famous Frenchman, M. Raymond, a man who had served under Bussy, and whose name still lives revered in the Dekhan. To support these Nizám Ali led into the field twenty thousand horsemen and a due proportion of artillery.

To meet this formidable invasion the Peshwá summoned all his vassal chieftains. Daolat-Ráo Sindia brought 25,000 men; Rághújí Bhonslé 15,000; Holkar 10,000; Parésráo Bháo 7,000. Other contingents increased the total number to 130,000; and besides these there were 10,000 Pindáris.

But the great strength of the Peshwá's army consisted in the brigades commanded by the *quondam* French sailor. Perron had ten of de Boigne's trained battalions, amounting with cavalry and artillery to about 10,000 men. There were also serving under his orders six battalions commanded by Filoze, amounting with guns and cavalry, to about 5,000 men; and four by Helsing, amounting to 3,000.

Holkar, too, brought similarly trained troops unto the field, *viz.*, four battalions of about 3,000 men, commanded by the Chevalier Dudrenec; and two of 1,500 led by Major Boyd.

The two armies met midway between the forts of Kardlá and Parindá. The battle which ensued was the first great departure since the death of Mádhají Sindia from the policy of that great statesman; the first marked deviation from his principle of one general alliance against an enemy who would otherwise destroy them piecemeal. It was fought the 12th March 1795. The Márhátás occupied a defensive position, of which Perron's troops formed the left. On the high ground near him Perron had placed his artillery, and he supported this arm by the infantry and cavalry in the plain below. The troops of Dudrenec and Boyd were with Holkar in the centre.

The battle began by an advance of the Mahomedans on the right wing and centre of the Márhátás. The attack completely succeeded. The Márhátá right wing was driven on to its centre, at the same time that the centre itself was completely broken by the steady advance of Raymond's drilled troops. Both wings fled in confusion, carrying Dudrenec's and Boyd's men with them, and endeavouring to seek a refuge behind the still unbroken left. Towards this left, covered and supported by a cavalry flushed with victory, Raymond now advanced. Perron allowed him to approach almost within musket-shot, and then suddenly opened a concentrated and continuous fire from the thirty-five guns loaded

with grape which he had placed on the eminence. At the same moment Rághújí Bhonslé assailed the Mahomedan cavalry with a shower of rockets, the materials for firing which he had maintained on the ground during the general flight of the right wing. This simultaneous discharge sent the Moghol cavalry to the right-about. Raymond's infantry, however, not only stood firm, but succeeded for a time in making a successful opposition to all the efforts of Perron. It is difficult to say how the battle would have ended had Nizám Ali been endowed with the most ordinary qualities of a leader. But like most Asiatic commanders he trusted only to his horsemen. When, then, these fled, he fled with them, sending order after order to Raymond to follow him. Meanwhile the Márlátá horse, rallying, were hastening to support Perron. Raymond, then, most unwillingly was forced to follow his master. He did so, however, in the most perfect order, prepared to renew the fight the next day. An accident, however, converted the retreat during the night into a complete rout.* Three days later a humiliating accommodation was forced upon the pusillanimous Nizám.

The battle of Kardlá, if it crushed the Nizám, gave by its results, fuller impetus to the intrigues going on at Púna, and these received a further accession of force by the untimely death of the youthful Peshwá, Madhú Ráo (October 25th, 1795). An account of these intrigues would be foreign to my present subject. A few months after the Peshwá's death de Boigne resigned to Perron the command of the armies of Sindia in Hindostan.

The fortunate man who had left France as a common sailor now ruled and administered in the name of Sindia the country from Lahore to Kotá and between Aligarh and Jodhpúr. He possessed greater power than any European had till that time possessed in Hindostan. This power he used, according to contemporary authority, in such a manner "as to aggrandise his authority and his riches"† In his admirable work on the Fall of the Moghol Empire, Mr. Keene has extracted from a record published by order of the local Government, a passage bearing upon the mode in which Perron's administration was conducted. "Perron,"

* This accident is thus related by Grant Duff (vol. iii, chapter vi). "In the stillness of night a small patrol of Márlátás, in search of water for their horses, came by chance to a rivulet where lay a party of Moghols who, discovering what they were, instantly fired upon them. Raymond's sentries who were in the neighbourhood, also fired, when their whole line, who lay on their arms,

with their muskets loaded as they had retreated, started from their sleep and instantly fired a sort of irregular volley. The alarm which such a discharge of musketry occasioned, in the state of the Moghol army at that moment, may be conceived.* * * Nizám Ali in perfect consternation sought refuge within the walls of Kurdlá."

† Major Ferdinand Smith, before referred to.

says this record*, which I extract from Mr. Keene's book, "succeeded in erecting" (a principality) "for the maintenance of the army, and reigned over it in the plenitude of sovereignty. He maintained all the state and dignity of an oriental despot, contracting alliances with the more potent Rájás, and overawing by his military superiority the petty chiefs. At Dehli, and within the circle of the imperial dominions, his authority was paramount to that of the emperor. His attention was chiefly directed to the prompt realization of revenue. Pargannahs were generally formed; a few were allotted as *jaidad* to chiefs on condition of military service; the revenue (of the lands in the neighbourhood of Aligarh) was collected by large bodies of troops always concentrated at head-quarters. A brigade was stationed at Sikandrabad for the express purpose of realizing collections. In the event of any resistance on the part of a landholder, who might be in balance, a severe and immediate example was made by the plunder and destruction of his village; and blood was not unfrequently shed in the harsh and hasty measures which were resorted to. The arrangements for the administration of justice were very defective; there was no fixed form of procedure, and neither Hindú nor Mahomedan law was regularly administered. The suppression of crime was regarded as a matter of secondary importance. There was an officer styled the Bakhshí Adálat whose business was to receive reports from the Amils (officials) in the interior, and communicate General Perron's orders respecting the disposal of any offenders apprehended by them. No trial was held; the proof rested on the Amil's report, and the punishment was left to General Perron's judgment."

The vacillating character of Daolat Ráo Sindia imposed upon Perron difficulties of a character different from those over which de Boigne had triumphed. Daolat Ráo possessed none of the foresight, none of the power of comprehensive view, for which his adoptive father was so famous. The influence wielded by the latter, and inherited for the moment by Daolat Ráo, was frittered away in contests for secondary objects at Púna. Gradually the tried adherents of Mádhají fell away from his successor, and Perron was then called upon to meet as enemies in the field the men who had been the allies and followers of de Boigne.

Foremost amongst these men was Lakhwá Dáda. Lakhwá Dáda was a Márhátá Brahman. He had distinguished himself in the service of Mádhají in 1788 by his brilliant and successful defence of Agra against the Patán leaders. He had fought side by side with de Boigne on many a well-contested field, and especially in the bloody battle of Lakhairí. To none of his adherents

* *Aleegurh Statistics*. By J. R. Hutchison and J. W. Sherer.

had Mádhájí shown greater confidence. Such was the man, clever influential, and far-sighted, whom Daolat Ráo, actuated by the suspicion that he had connived in the escape of the widows of his predecessor from the prison to which he had consigned them, deprived of his power and dismissed from all his employments.

In those days arbitrary power could not always be exercised with impunity towards a clever and influential servant of the State. Lakhwá Dádá knew that a great many powerful vassals were impatient of the yoke of Daolat Ráo; that they wanted only a leader. He threw himself into their ranks, was recognised as their chief, raised a powerful army, repeatedly defeated the troops sent against him, and reduced all the country from Ujain to Sironj.* Agra, too, the place in which in his younger days he had won his spurs, fell into the hands of his adherents.

Perron had not been blind to the events occurring in his government. In Agra were his arsenals, his magazines, his manufactories. To Agra, then, he marched, at the head of his whole available force. He was joined before the place by Ambájí Ingliá, one of Daolat Ráo's principal officers, at the head of a large body of cavalry.

Agra resisted long, but Lakhwá Dádá was not there to defend it in person, and in the end it surrendered. Perron then marched against Lakhwá Dádá, who had by this time mastered nearly two-thirds of Rájputáná. The hostile forces met at Sondia, in the Datiá territory, on the 3rd May 1800. The disciplined battalions prevailed. Lakhwá Dádá was beaten, and so severely wounded that he died shortly after.

Rid of this formidable adversary Perron had time to turn his attention to George Thomas, an adventurer who had almost succeeded, single handed, in firmly establishing an independent principality in northern India. Thomas was a very remarkable man. An Irishman by birth, Thomas had come out to India as a common sailor on board of an English man-of-war about the year 1782. Deserting from his ship as she lay anchored in the Madras roads, he had wandered about the Carnatic, and had finally taken service under the Bégam Sombre. A bold, indefatigable, active man, endowed with great natural abilities and a large share of common-sense, possessing, too, a handsome person and a winning manner, Thomas was just the man to rise to distinction under such a mistress. Opportunities did not fail him. In April 1788, when the contingent of the Bégam was serving under the orders of the Emperor Shah Alam at the siege of Gókalgarh, Thomas was fortunate enough to save the Emperor from death or a worse

* Grant Duff.

captivity. For five years Thomas continued in the service of the Bégam, and it is probable that, as time went on, he began to aspire to a position of a more intimate character. But, if he did entertain such a hope, he was disappointed. A Frenchman, named Le Vaisseau, supplanted him. Thomas upon this left the Bégam's service and set up for himself. He went first to the village of Anúpsahír where was stationed the frontier brigade of the English force. • From this place he corresponded with Appú Khandí Ráo, an influential officer in the service of Sindia. The correspondence ended by Thomas obtaining from his friend the investiture of a few villages in Máhrátá territory. Subsequently Thomas obtained permission to conquer and administer the district of Hariáná, a part of the country so neglected and desolate that up to that time no one had considered it worth taking. He first succeeded in taking a large village in Hariáná. His subsequent proceedings are thus described by a personal friend and contemporary.* "Thomas commenced his ambitious career in 1794, after he left the Bégam Sombre's service, by collecting a few men near Delhi, with whom he stormed a large village. The little money he acquired from this village laid the foundation for his future hopes and prospects: he made a few guns, enlisted more men, raised two battalions, and besieged parts of the desolated country of Hariáná * * * He increased his forces by plunder; the brass and copper vessels he found in the towns and villages were melted into cannon, and cannon procured him money. Thus he proceeded some time, gradually raising his forces as he augmented his means to pay them, until 1797, when they amounted to four battalions. He then cleared away the jungle from the abandoned fort of Hánsí, and put it in a state of defence. His range of depredations now became more extensive and his resources greater. At last, in 1801, he raised his party, to ten battalions with sixty pieces of cannon, and secured a country to himself of three lakhs a year."

Such, in brief, is the outline of the history of the rise of George Thomas. But there are other details, not uninteresting, which served to help him on. Such was his adoption by Appú Khandí Ráo immediately subsequent to their joint visit to Delhi in 1794 to receive investiture of their fiefs from the local representative of Daolat Ráo Sindia. It was on this occasion that Appú Khandí conferred upon Thomas the right to occupy Hariáná, and extended the powers he had previously granted to him. Another characteristic incident of this part of his career was the restoration by his means of his old mistress, the Bégam Sombre, now once more a widow, to the principality of which she had been deprived by the

* Major Ferdinand Smith.

intrigues of her officers. A third, the invariable fidelity and forbearance he displayed towards his adoptive father, notwithstanding the repeated intrigues, amounting often to treachery, indulged in by the latter. Latterly he recognised Ambají Ingliá, the favourite general of Sindia, as his most trusted ally.

Before proceeding to the events which brought Thomas into collision with Perron, I propose to devote a few lines to the manner of his administration of Hánsi and its surrounding district. The story is best told in his own words.* "Here," writes he in his memoirs, "I established my capital, re-built the walls of the city, which had long since fallen to decay, and repaired the fortifications. As it had been long deserted, at first I found difficulty in procuring inhabitants, but by degrees, and gentle treatment, I selected between five and six thousand persons, to whom I allowed every lawful indulgence. I established a mint, and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country; cast my own artillery, commenced making muskets, match-locks, and powder; * * * till at length," he goes on to say, "having gained a capital and country bordering on the Sikh territories, I wished to put myself in a capacity, when a favourable opportunity should offer, of attempting the conquest of the Panjáb, and aspired to the honour of placing the British standard on the banks of the Attock." No ignoble aspiration, indeed, for a deserter from a British man-of-war!

It was no idle dream however. Thomas had, in fact, already left his own territory to make the attempt, and he was actually within four marches of Lahore, when he received an express to the effect that his principality of Hariáná was menaced by Perron.

The fact is that Perron, wielding the power of Sindia in Hindostan, having crushed Lakhwá Dádá, was not disposed to brook the establishment so near to Delhi of an independent power, and that power wielded by a native of Great Britain. He accordingly sent to Thomas a summons to repair to Delhi, there to do homage as a vassal of Sindia. Anticipating his refusal he massed ten battalions and two thousand horse at Delhi. Thomas, foreseeing what was in store for him, replied by an indignant refusal, at the same time that he made every effort to return and cover his capital. Marching thirty or forty miles a day he succeeded in reaching Hánsi before Perron had moved out of Delhi.

But Perron had committed himself too far to retreat. He had allied himself with the Sikhs and obtained from them assistance alike in men and money. Thomas likewise had formed alliances with his old friend the Bégam Sombre, with the Rájás of Jaipúr and Alwar, and with Lafontaine, who commanded six battalions

* Francklin's *Life of George Thomas*.

of Filoze's brigade in the service of Sindia. Reinforced by the troops received from these quarters he met Perron's army at Bâhâdûrgarh, eighteen miles to the west of Dehli. Neither party was very confident of success. Perron thought, moreover, that it might be possible to arrange matters satisfactorily without having recourse to the doubtful arbitrament of a battle. He therefore commissioned one of his officers, Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith, to repair to the camp of Thomas, and to offer him sixty thousand rupees a month for his troops, the rank of colonel for himself, and the fort of Hânsi in perpetuity, provided he would take service under Sindia, and acknowledge Perron as his chief. Thomas, though unwillingly, consented to discuss these terms at a personal interview.

There were many reasons which combined to dissuade Thomas from the offered accommodation. Intelligence had but just reached him of the defeat of Daolat Râo's troops at Ujjén, and of his precipitate retreat on Bûrhânpûr. Letters, too, had come in from Jeswant Râo Hôlkar urging him to attack Perron, and promising him aid in men and money. Recruits, too, were on their way to join him, whilst he knew that Sindia was demanding reinforcements from Perron. His policy was plainly to temporise until he should possess a manifest superiority. This, indeed, was the course that recommended itself to his clearer vision. But the demand made by Perron at the interview, that he should divide his force and send one-half to the assistance of Sindia maddened him to such an extent that he broke off the conference and hastily retreated to Hânsi.

On the breaking up of the conference Perron returned immediately to Aligarh, called thither by the necessity of attending to the urgent requisitions of Sindia, leaving his force before Bâhâdûrgarh under the command of Major Bourquin, then acting as commandant of the third brigade. This officer at once despatched Major Smith to besiege Georgegarh, a fort which had been built by Thomas, about seventy miles from Hânsi, whilst he himself should cover the siege. Thomas, however, noticing the distance of the covering from the besieging force, broke up suddenly from Hânsi, fell upon Smith and completely defeated him. What he might have accomplished may be gathered from Major Smith's own words: "I was attacked," he writes,† "by Thomas with eight battalions, compelled to raise the siege and retreat to Jajar, four coss (eight miles) to the east of Georgegarh; favoured by the obscurity of the night, I was not completely cut

* It is from the memoirs of this officer, an actor on the scene, that I have gleaned the details which follow.

† *Sketch of the rise and progress of regular corps under Sindia, by Major L. F. Smith.*

off, and made good my retreat, with the loss of one gun and one-third of my force killed and wounded. How I escaped total destruction I do not yet know. Why Thomas did not follow my retreat I cannot say; for if he had continued the pursuit I must have lost all my guns, and my party would have been completely destroyed."

After raising the siege Thomas threw himself into Georgegarh, the defences of which he strengthened. Here he was attacked on the 29th September by Bourquin's troops, who had marched seventy miles in the thirty-six hours almost immediately preceding the assault. "Bourquin," writes Major Smith, "did not lead the attack himself, but prudently remained with the cavalry, two thousand yards in rear of George Thomas's line. The seven battalions of de Boigne, with calm intrepidity advanced with their guns through heavy sand, exposed to a dreadful and well-directed fire of fifty-four peices of cannon, and attacked Thomas's ten battalions in their entrenchments; but they were repulsed with the severe loss of one thousand one hundred men killed and wounded, which was nearly one-third of their number. ** Thomas's loss was not so great, as the guns of de Boigne's battalions were mostly dismounted by their recoil on the sand, when fired, which snapt their axle-trees."

"Had Thomas," adds Major Smith, "taken advantage of Bourquin's ignorance and folly, and sallied out on the beaten troops of Perron, he would have overturned his power, but Thomas at this critical moment was confused and confounded." Thomas, indeed, took no advantage of their repulse. He remained shut up in Georgegarh waiting for the reinforcements promised by Holkar, and which never came; for before the period then passing, the power of Holkar, though he knew it not, had been temporarily annihilated at Indr.

Meanwhile reinforcements poured into the besiegers' camp. The incapable Bourquin was superseded by Colonel Pedrons, and he turned the siege into a blockade. This lasted for seven weeks. Reduced then by famine and desertion, having spent his ammunition and finding his remaining troops utterly disorganised, Thomas saw that the end was at hand. Rather, however, than surrender he mounted—the night of the 10th November 1801—his Persian horse, and accompanied by his only two European officers, Captain Hearsay and Lieutenant Birch, and some troops, rode away, hoping to reach Hânsi by a circuitous route. The party, though attacked and pursued, arrived safely at Hânsi on the third day.

Colonel Pedrons consigned to Bourquin the task of finishing the war. The latter followed up Thomas to Hânsi, laid siege to the place, and though Thomas defended himself stoutly, there could be no doubt of the ultimate issue. An offer made by a portion of

the garrison to betray their leader brought matters to a crisis. Major Smith was again detached to communicate with Thomas, to inform him of the treachery of his troops, and to offer him honourable terms. These terms assured him freedom of action for himself within British territory with the safe conduct of the property still remaining to him. Thomas accepted the conditions (1st January 1802), and proceeded towards Calcutta with the intention of returning to his native land with the wreck of his fortune, amounting then, according to Major Smith, to a lakh of rupees. He died, however, on his way down, near Berhampúr, in the burying-ground of which place he was interred. His career, records the friend already quoted, "was more worthy of astonishment than imitation."

Perron was now complete master of the situation. He had beaten all his master's enemies in Hindostan; his master's troops had triumphed in Ujjén. But his double triumph had similarly affected both master and servant. They showed, in this crisis of their fortunes, that prosperity was fatal to them. It exalted their pride and weakened their judgment.

Perron had had no education, no mental training; he was not gifted with a large mind. A self-made man, he had raised himself from the position of a common sailor to a post which was, in fact, second only to one other in India, and, so long as he had enemies to fight, the animal vigour of his nature had a fit field for its display. But with the dispersion of his enemies the scene of action for that animal vigour disappeared, and his mental power was more largely called upon. In this respect Perron was weak. He began to show undue contempt for the native chieftains, an unjust partiality for his own countrymen; to further his own private interest only; to look upon the interests of Sindia as secondary, not to be placed in the balance against his own.

It was not long before the action based upon such views raised a storm against him. One after another the native chiefs and leaders complained to Sindia of the arrogance and grasping character of his French lieutenant. To meet the storm raised by these denunciations, Perron proceeded at the end of 1802 to the court of Daolat Ráo, then held at Ujjén. He proposed to himself three objects in this visit. The first, to ascertain the views of Colonel Collins, the British resident, then at Sindia's Court; the second, to ascertain by personal examination how far Colonel Sutherland, who commanded the second brigade, and whose character he dreaded, was likely to supplant him; the third, to destroy the effect of the intrigues of Sákharám Ghatgay, Sindia's father-in-law, and of the other chiefs who were hostile to him. Should he find the position too strong for him he had resolved to resign his office.

Perron did not resign. He presented to Daolat Ráo a *nazzar* of five lakhs of rupees,—and seemed to triumph. After a stay of a few weeks only at Ujjén he returned to Aligarh with his former power confirmed. An incident occurred shortly afterwards, however, which roused all his fears and suspicions.

The student of Indian history of that period will recollect that the defeat of Sindia's army by Jeswant Ráo Holkar near Púna on the 25th October 1802 had caused the Peshwá to fly in trepidation from his capital. From Severndrúg, where he had taken refuge, the Peshwá addressed pressing solicitations to Sindia, still in camp at Ujjén, to come to his aid. It may freely be asserted that the fate of India was at that moment in the hands of Daolat Ráo. Had he marched to the aid of his suzerain, not only would no treaty of Bassein have been signed, but he would have attained, with one bound, the influence and power of his predecessor.

Daolat Ráo cast away the opportunity,—never to recur. Why did he do so? Was it, as he gave out, that he was not strong enough, or did he doubt the intention of the Peshwá to throw himself, unless relieved, in the hands of the British?

A glance at the relations between Daolat Ráo and M. Perron at this period will tend to elucidate the question. Perron had hardly returned to Aligarh before he received from Daolat Ráo a pressing requisition to send him another brigade, as with his then force he was not strong enough to march to the assistance of the Peshwá. Daolat Ráo had then three brigades with him; one, belonging to Perron's force, commanded by Sutherland; one, an independent brigade, commanded by Filozo; and a third belonging to the Bégam Sombre. Perron had with himself three brigades. When, therefore, he received the requisition to send one of these to Ujjén, he thought he read in the order a resolution to despoil him of his power. Although, then, he saw that the moment was critical, that by delaying to comply he risked the independence and even the existence of the Máhrátá empire, yet regard for his own interests and the dread of throwing too much power into the hands of Daolat Ráo, caused him to hesitate for three months. When at last he did comply, the favourable moment had passed, and the Peshwá had thrown himself into the arms of the British Government for protection. In February 1803 Perron despatched to Ujjén the fourth brigade under Dúdreneé, and half of the newly raised fifth brigade under Brownrigg. But it was too late. The treaty of Bassein had been signed.

The treaty of Bassein precipitated the conflict between Sindia and the British. It roused Daolat Ráo to a sense of his errors. In that treaty he saw not only the subversion of the vast plans

of his predecessor, but a threat against himself. Though invited to become a party to the defensive portion of the treaty he distinctly refused. Then probably for the first time in his life he understood the conception of Mádhají, finding himself as he did face to face with the dangers which Mádhají's scheme would have rendered impossible. Then he besurred himself; then, at last, he sought to weld union amongst the Máhrátás against the common foe. But he was too late. Holkar refused to join him. His preparations, though he sought to conceal and did deny them, were too patent. The Governor-General of India, Marquess Wellesley, resolved then to anticipate him, and to bring the matter to the arbitrament of the sword. War was declared, and on the 8th August 1808, an English force under General Lake crossed the frontier of Sindia's territory and marched straight on Aligarh.

Perron was at Aligarh, but he was as a general without an army. The main body of the troops were with Daolat Ráo; others were not at the moment amenable to his orders. He had with him at the time but 2,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry.

But there were other evils threatening him which Perron dreaded far more than a deficiency of troops. His conduct in the early part of the year, which I have detailed at length, had roused all the suspicions of Daolat Ráo. His disgrace, again imminent, was hastened by the present of fifteen lakhs of rupees made by Ambají Ingliá to Daolat Ráo as the price of the Subadárship of Hindostan. Ambají was one of the great chiefs whom Perron had insulted, and from whom he could expect no mercy. His rival would have drained his purse if not his life's blood.

Perron could not even trust the commanders of his brigades, Dudrence, on his way back from Ujjén to Aligarh, was far more attached to Ambají than to him; Bourquin, who at the moment had the second and third brigades under his orders, threw off his allegiance. But one chance remained, and that was to make the best possible terms with the British.

To this course Perron resigned himself. When, on the 29th August (1803) General Lake marched on the village of Aligarh, a splendid opportunity offered to Perron to charge it with the 8,000 horse he had under his command. He did not seize it. He gave no orders. His men were paralysed by his indecision, and a few rounds from the gallopér guns sent them flying in all directions. Perron fled with them, directing his course first to Hatrás, thence to Mathurá. From this latter place he sent on 5th September a proposal to the English general to surrender on receiving an assurance of protection for his person and his property.

Lord Lake acceded to the proposal. Whereupon Perron, having first sent his family to Agra, slipped quietly across the river, and

making his way to Sasní threw himself under the protection of the British detachment stationed there. Thence he was allowed to proceed with his family and his property to Chándarnagar. From that time he and his affairs ceased to interest the Indian world.

III.

Amongst the French officers mentioned in the preceding section is Colonel Pedrons. He must have joined de Boigne early, as he raised and commanded the third brigade in 1795. The next mention I find of him is of so late a date as 1800. In that year, when Perron was engaged in besieging the fort of Agra, Pedrons, then a major, was despatched with eight battalions to attack and annihilate Lakhwá Dádá in Bandalkhand. In this enterprise he was assisted by Ambají Ingliá with some irregular infantry and five thousand horse. He found, however, Lakhwá Dádá so strongly posted, that though the latter had only six thousand horse, three thousand Rohillas, and two hundred drilled sepoy* under his command, Pedrons was afraid to attack him. He spent two months in fruitless reconnoitering. At the end of that time Perron himself came down and crushed Lakhwá Dádá with one blow (3rd May 1800.) We next hear of Pedrons as relieving Bourquin in the campaign against Thomas. The part he then took has been already related. His final act was the defence of the fort of Aligarh against an English army under Lord Lake.

I have already stated that when the English army marched on Aligarh Perron had with him only 2,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. The infantry he threw into the fort, the command of which was confided to Pedrons.

Lord Lake's first act was to summon Pedrons to surrender. Pedrons in becoming terms refused. Lord Lake, then, finding that to attack it in regular form would give the enemy time to concentrate their forces to oppose him, resolved to attempt a *coup-de-main*.

It was a daring experiment, for Aligarh was strong, well garrisoned, and the country round it had been levelled. It had but one weak point, and that was a narrow passage across the ditch into the fort. This passage was, however, guarded by a strong gateway, and three other gateways had to be forced before the body of the place could be entered. To resolve to

* These 200 sepoy were drilled and commanded by Major Tone, "an unfortunate gentleman," says Major Smith "whose abilities and integrity were as great as his misfortunes were severe." Major Tone was subsequent-

ly shot through the head, whilst serving under Holkar, at an action near Cholí Máhasúr, in 1802. He wrote a valuable work called 'Letters on the Máhrátá people.' (Ferdinand Smith)

attempt such a place by a *coup-de-main* required no ordinary nerve. The whole future of the campaign depended on the success of the storm. Should it fail, all India would rise up against the English ; should it succeed, the Máhrátá Empire would receive its death-blow.

But throughout his career Lord Lake always acted on the principle, so often referred to in these articles, that "boldness was prudence." He stormed and carried Aligarh. By that success he paralysed the Máhrátá confederacy. To use the words of a contemporary writer then in the service of Sindia, "it was a mortal blow to the Máhrátá war ; it struck a panic into the minds of the natives and astonished all the princes in Hindostan : it gave them dreadful ideas of European soldiers and European courage."

Pedrons was taken prisoner at Aligarh. From that time he disappeared from the scene.

The next in order is the Bourquin referred to in the preceding section. This man's real name was Louis Bernard. His previous history, and his reason for changing his name, are alike unknown to me. It is only known that Perron had raised him from obscurity to the command of a brigade. His campaign against Thomas has been already related. He is next heard of as evincing his gratitude to Perron by revolting against him on the eve of the war with the English. By Perron's flight to British territory and by Pedrons' captivity, Bourquin became the senior officer in command of the old brigades of de Boigne.

Bourquin was close to Delhi at the head of the second and third brigades when the English were marching on Aligarh. Another French officer, Colonel Dugeon, was commanding the fort of Delhi. Bourquin, strongly sensible of the political advantage which might arise from having in his camp the old blind Emperor, called upon Dugeon to send him out under an escort. Dugeon refused. Upon this Bourquin prepared to besiege Delhi, and he only desisted when the fatal intelligence of the storming of Aligarh recalled him to a sense of his position.

On receiving this news Bourquin began to cross the Jamna with his two brigades. He had already (11th September) passed over twelve battalions with seventy pieces of cannon and five thousand cavalry, when, at 11 o'clock, the English army appeared in sight. Bourquin drew up his troops in a remarkably strong position, his front covered by a line of intrenchments prepared on the two preceding days ; each flank covered by a swamp, and his guns hidden by long grass. Wishing to entice the English to attack this formidable position, he directed the outposts to fire on the English camp. At the time that this firing commenced, the British troops had grounded their arms,

many were undressed, others had gone in search of fuel. Lord Lake, however, hastily collected his men and led them to the attack. The fire from the long grass was, however, so heavy, and the intrenchments were so formidable, that Lord Lake, after losing many men and being wounded himself, stopped the advance to attempt a *ruse de guerre*. He then ordered his cavalry, which was leading, to retire slowly behind the infantry. The movement of the cavalry to the rear induced, in the mind of the French leader, the supposition that the British force was beaten. He ordered the men to leave the intrenchments and complete the victory. This they did with loud shouts. Their error continued till the sudden disappearance of the cavalry showed them the British infantry advancing to meet them. The disciplined battalions fought well, but they were overmatched. Bourquin was the first to leave the field. The rout then was complete. Bourquin surrendered, with five officers, three days later to the English, and disappeared not only from the field of battle, but from the field of history.

A character superior in every way to Bourquin was the Chevalier Dudrenec. A native of Brest, the son of a commodore in the French navy, Dudrenec had come out to India as a midshipman in a French man-of-war about the year 1774. Why he left the French navy, or the occupation to which he betook himself after leaving it, I have never been able to ascertain. He first appears upon the Indian scene in command of Bégam Sombre's brigade. He left this command in 1791 to join Túkají Holkar, by whom he was commissioned to raise, drill, and equip four battalions on the principle previously employed for Sindia by de Boigne. Dudrenec acquitted himself of this commission with great success. The following year, however, his battalions were destroyed—the men dying at their posts,—at the fatal battle of Lakhairí, an account of which I have given in the sketch of de Boigne's career. Not disheartened, Holkar commissioned Dudrenec to raise four more battalions. This task he successfully accomplished, and with them, on the 12th March 1795, he contributed to the victory of Kardlá, gained by the combined Máhrátá forces against the Nizám.

For some time after this engagement Dudrenec remained in comparative inaction at Indúr. In 1797 he added two battalions to his force. In the struggle for power, which followed the death of Túkají the same year (1797), Dudrenec sided at first with the legitimate, but imbecile heir, Khásí Ráo. Acting in his name he alternately defeated, and was defeated by, the pretender Jeswant Ráo. When at length the triumph of the latter seemed assured, Dudrenec went over with all his troops and guns to his side. But Jeswant Ráo did not trust him, and Dudrenec soon saw that his disgrace was determined upon. Under these circum-

stances he thought he would try and steal a march upon his master. Taking advantage of the hostilities then engaged between Sindia and Jeswant Ráo (1801) he endeavoured to take his six battalions bodily over to the former. But the men were more faithful than their commander. They drove Dudrenec from the camp, and marched to Jeswant Ráo, who at once placed at their head an Englishman named Vickers.

Dudrenec was, however, well-received by Sindia and entrusted with the command of a brigade, the fourth, and placed under the orders of Perron, at Aligarh. In February 1803 he was detached with this brigade to join Sindia at Ujjén; again, towards the autumn of the same year, when hostilities with the English were imminent, he was sent back to rejoin Perron. This force reached the vicinity of Agra in October, having been joined in its way by the three battalions of Bourquin's force which had not crossed the Jamna, nor been engaged in the battle of Delhi against the English, and by some other fugitives. The whole force amounted to about 12,000 men, well supplied with excellent artillery.

It was this army, indeed, which fought the famous battle of Láswári. But when it fought that battle Dudrenec was not with it. Influenced, it seems probable, by the example of his fellow adventurers, and by the favourable conditions offered,* he had surrendered (30th October) to the English. His Indian career then closed.

One of the oldest officers in the service of de Boigne was John Hessing, a man who, if not a Dutchman,† was at least of Dutch extraction. He joined de Boigne shortly after the latter entered the service of Sindia, and was present at the hardly-contested battles of Lálsót, of Agra, and of Chaksána. At Patán too, he fought bravely and well. After that battle, however, he quarrelled with de Boigne and tendered his resignation. This was accepted. Sindia then advanced him money to raise a battalion which should be peculiarly his own, and should act as his special body-guard. As commandant of this body-guard Hessing accompanied Mádhají to Púna in 1792, augmenting it gradually, as he proceeded, to four battalions. It was at this strength when failing health forced Hessing to leave Púna. He was sent thence to command at Agra, where he died in 1803.

His son, George Hessing, succeeded him at Púna. Shortly

* These conditions generally were security of life and property, and permission to return to Europe.

† Grant Duff says he was an Englishman; but his acquaintance and contemporary, Lewis Ferdinand Smith, invariably speaks of him as

a foreigner. His name does not appear in the list of British subjects serving Máhrátá states, who were pensioned by the British Government, and the inscription on his tomb at Agra declares him a Dutchman.

after that Mádhají Sindia died. Daolat Ráo, however, not only continued his favour to Hessing, but authorised him to increase the number of his battalions to eight. They were at this strength when hostilities broke out between Holkar and Sindia in 1801, although half the number only were then with Daolat Ráo in his camp at Bérhánpúr, George Hessing having sent four to reinforce his father at Agra.

Holkar having shown a disposition at this period to attack and plunder Ujjén, Sindia detached George Hessing with three of his battalions and with one belonging to Filoze, to defend that place. Shortly after he had left, Sindia, not thinking his force strong enough, sent his fourth battalion, and another of Filoze's, under Captain McIntyre, to reinforce him. These were followed by Sindia's grand park of fifty-two guns, the advanced guard of which was formed by two of Perron's battalions under Captain Gautier, and the rear guard by two more under Captain Brownrigg.

Never, in his brilliant career, did Jeswant Ráo Holkar display to a greater extent the qualities of a general than on this occasion. Noticing the distance that separated these parties the one from the other; that the state of the soil, knee-deep with the mud created by the heavy rainfall, precluded the possibility of quick communication between them, at the same time that it rendered the progress of the guns extremely slow, he passed the leading column (George Hessing's,) close to Ujjén, and dashed down upon McIntyre's two battalions at Núrí, thirty-five miles from that place. His force was so overwhelming, that, notwithstanding their obstinate resistance, he, in the end, forced them to surrender. Having thus placed an impassable distance between Hessing's detachment and the troops under Gautier and Brownrigg, he turned back and fell upon the former. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody. The immensely superior fire of Holkar's artillery alone decided the day, nor was it until seven* out of his enemy's eleven European officers had been killed, and three taken prisoners; until three-fifths likewise of their men had been killed and one-fifth wounded, that victory decided in favour of Holkar.

* Lewis Ferdinand Smith, writes : " Of the eleven European officers who were in this severe action eight were British subjects, seven of whom were killed at their posts, and only one survived, but survived with wounds. Colonel Hessing, the commander, escaped."

The names of the eight British subjects were Graham, Urquhart,

Montague, Macpherson, Lang, Doolun, Haden, and Humpherstone. The seven first-named were killed, the last-named was severely wounded and taken prisoner. The names of the foreign officers were Hessing, Dupont, and Derridon. The first escaped, the two last were taken prisoners."

George Hessing is next heard of at Agra, commanding at that place when it was threatened by Lord Lake in October 1803. The troops, however, noticing the facility with which their foreign officers had surrendered to the English, placed Hessing and the six officers with him under restraint. This action on their part did not prevent Lord Lake from taking Agra. All the European officers, foreign and English, then within its walls, renounced the service of Sindia, and accepted the liberal conditions offered by Marquess Wellesley. Among these was George Hessing.

Michel Filoze, a Neapolitan of low birth and of no education, had at first served under de Boigne. By means of intrigue, however, he contrived to obtain authority to raise a battalion under his own sole command, and at the head of this he accompanied Mádhají to Púna in 1792.

This battalion became the nucleus of the brigade of fourteen battalions raised by Michel Filoze and his son and successor, Fidele, between that year and 1800. At the head of six of these he rendered good service at the battle of Kardlá, 1795. Michel Filoze was an adventurer of the lowest type. To other bad qualities he added the practise of treachery and dishonour. During the intrigues at Púna which followed the death of Mádhají, Filoze ingratiated himself with Náná Farnawís, the minister of the Poshwá. When the latter was pressed by Sindia to visit him, and only hesitated because he mistrusted the intentions of Daolat Ráo, Michel Filoze assured him in the most solemn manner, and on his word of honour, that he would guarantee his safe and immediate return to his house. Yet, notwithstanding his oaths, and the pledge of his honour, Filoze himself arrested the Náná on his return from the interview (31st December 1797) and made him over to his master. This act of his was resented in the most marked manner by the other adventurers at the court and in the camp of Daolat Ráo. They considered this baseness on the part of one of their number as a stain upon themselves as a body. When shortly afterwards, the Náná was released and restored to power, Michel Filoze, dreading his vengeance, fled to Bombay.

He was succeeded by his son Fidele. Fidele Filoze accompanied Daolat Ráo in his campaign against Holkar in 1801 at the head of six battalions. One of these, under Captain McIntyre, was cut off by Jeswant Ráo Holkar at Núrí; a second under George Hessing was destroyed at Ujjén (June 1801); the remaining four took part in the battle of Indúr (14th October 1801). On this occasion Sindia's army, really commanded by an Englishman, Major Sutherland, gained a decisive victory. Strange to say, after that battle, to the gain of which he and his

troops contributed, Fidele Filoze cut his throat. "The reasons for this suicide," writes Major L. F. Smith, so often referred to, "are various. Some say that he had carried on a traitorous correspondence with Jeswant Ráo Holkar previous to the battle of Indúr, and that he cut his throat to prevent the disgrace of condign punishment; others that he committed the act in a delirium." Major Smith describes Fidele Filoze as having been "a good, ignorant man, a much better character than his faithless and treacherous father, who had all the bad qualities of a low Italian, and none of the good points which Italians possess." The Filoze family ultimately settled at Gwáliár.

A great deal might be written regarding the careers of adventurers who were not foreigners but Englishmen, and some of whom displayed the highest qualities. Prominent amongst these stand the names of Sutherland, Smith, Shepherd, Gardner, Skinner, Bellasis, Dodd, Brownrigg, Vickers and Ryan. The first five of these accepted the terms offered by Marquess Wellesley in 1803, and with upwards of thirty other officers renounced the service of native chiefs; the last five were murdered or killed in action.

Of other Frenchmen who did good service to Sindia and Holkar, may be mentioned Captain Plumet, of whom Major Smith records that he was "a Frenchman and a gentleman, two qualities which were seldom united in the Máhrátá army. He was a man of respectable character and sound principles." Plumet commanded four battalions for Holkar in the attack on George Hessing at Ujjén (June 1801), and he shared in the defeat inflicted upon Holkar by Major Brownrigg at Barkésar in the July following. Finding Jeswant Ráo Holkar a master difficult to serve, cunning, capricious, and ungrateful, Plumet left him, and returned to the Isle of France.

With these names I have exhausted the list of the principal foreign adventurers who built up the armies of Holkar and Sindia between 1787 and 1803. It is true that many more names remain on the list, but not one that calls for sympathy or interest. This is my own conviction formed upon a minute examination of every paper of that period upon which I have been able to lay my hand. How far that conviction is borne out by contemporary opinion may be gathered from the following sentence culled from Major Smith's work already quoted. "Perron's army," wrote that gentleman in 1805, "was a minute miniature of the French revolution. Wretches were raised from cooks, bakers, and barbers, to majors and colonels, absurdly entrusted with the command of brigades, and shoved into paths to acquire lakhs. This was the quintessence of *égalité*, and the *acmé* of the French revolution." Even if Major Smith's description be exaggerated, this at least is

certain, that of all the men to whom I have referred, but one only, de Boigne, was worthy of representing France. He was worthy ; and there was another, Raymond, whose deeds have yet to be recorded, who at least rivals him in the esteem which, living, he earned ; which, dead, is still not denied him.

IV.

Before proceeding to Raymond it seems fit that I should briefly notice the career of two adventurers, very famous in their day, who flourished at a period immediately antecedent to that of de Boigne. I allude to Madoc and Sombre.

The real name of Sombre, as he was styled on account of his dark complexion, was Walter Reinhard. By birth he was a German, by trade a butcher. He originally came out to India in the Swiss company of infantry under the command of Captain Zeigler, attached to the Bombay European regiment. With that company he most probably came round to the coast, where he deserted and made his way round to Bengal, apparently in the French service.*

After the capture of Chándarnagar in 1757 Sombre wandered from the court of one petty chieftain to that of another in quest of service. After several unimportant adventures he was in 1762 appointed to the command of a brigade of troops in the service of Mír Kásim, Nawáb Názim of Bengal.

Shortly after that event the greed and avidity of the English rulers of Bengal † forced Mír Kásim to war. The contest was on the one side for dominion, on the other for independence. On the 1st July 1763, Mr. Ellis and the English garrison of Patna, who had taken and then abandoned that city, surrendered to Mír Kásim's generals, Markar and Sombre, and were sent back thither as prisoners. On the 17th July following, Mír Kásim's main army was repulsed on the banks of the river Adjí by a strong artillery force under Lieutenant Glenn ; and two days later it was defeated by Major Adams in the most obstinately contested battle of Katwá.

The brigade of Sombre was not engaged on these occasions, but it joined the main army in time to take part in the bloody battle of Ghériá. (2nd August). In this battle Sombre occupied a very prominent position, and had he displayed the smallest pluck, the British power might have been temporarily extinguished on that well-contested field. The left wing of the English had been broken ; their centre had been attacked in the rear. The brigades

* Broomie's *History of the Bengal Army*.

† *Ibid.*

of Sombre and Markar* had only to advance and the day was gained. But it was against Sombre's principle to advance. His plan of action* was invariably to draw his men in a line, fire a few shots, form a square, and retreat. He followed out this plan to the letter at Ghériá. He allowed the victory to slip from his grasp, but he covered the retreat of the army.

The victory of Ghériá was followed up by another (5th September) on the U'dwá nullah; and on the 1st October by the capture of Monghír. In the first defeat Sombre and his brigade were sharers.

The fall of Monghír irritated Mír Kásim to such a degree that he determined to take the terrible revenge of slaughtering the English prisoners held by him at Patna. The story is thus told in his admirable history by the late Colonel Broome.† "Mír Kásim now issued the fatal order for the massacre of his unfortunate prisoners, but so strong was the feeling on the subject, that none amongst his officers could be found to undertake the office, until Sombre offered his services to execute it.

"The majority of the prisoners were confined in a house belonging to one Hadjí Ahmad, on the site of the present English cemetery in that city. Hither Sombre repaired on the 5th October, with two companies of his sipáhis, having on the previous day, under pretence of giving the party an entertainment procured all their knives and forks, so that they were deprived of every means of resistance. Having surrounded the house, he sent for Messrs. Ellis, Hay, and Lushington, who went out with six other gentlemen, and were immediately cut to pieces in the most barbarous manner and their remains thrown into a well. The sipáhis now mounted the roof of the house, which was built in the form of a square, and fired down upon the remainder of the party, who were congregated in the centre court. Those who escaped this volley sought shelter in the building, but were quickly followed by Sombre's sipáhis, and a fearful scene of slaughter ensued. The English, driven to desperation, defended themselves with bottles, bricks, and articles of furniture; and their very executioners struck with their gallantry, requested that arms might be furnished to them, when they would set upon them and fight them till destroyed, but that this butchery of unarmed men was not the work for sipáhis but for *kullalkhores* (executioners). Sombre, enraged, struck down those that objected, and compelled his men to proceed in their diabolical work until the whole were slain. The following morning their remains were thrown into a well in the

* Markar was an American in Mír Kásim's service. *Army*, a standard work based entirely on authentic records.

† Broome's *History of the Bengal*

courtyard. The men employed in this office found one person, Mr. Gulston of the civil service, yet alive, and they seemed inclined to save him ; but this gentleman, who was an admirable linguist, smarting with his wounds, and ignorant of their kindly intentions towards him, gave them abuse and threatened them with the vengeance of his countrymen, upon which they threw him still breathing into the well with his more fortunate comrades. A few of the party, probably the sick and wounded, were in the Chelhel Sitún, and were butchered in a similar manuer on the 11th. Neither age nor sex was spared, and Sombre consummated his diabolical villainy by the murder of Mr. Ellis's infant child, from which it may be inferred that Mrs. Ellis was amongst the female sufferers in this dreadful catastrophe." Upwards of fifty civil and military officers and a hundred European soldiers, perished on this occasion. One officer, Dr. Fullarton, whose medical abilities had gained even the regard of Mír Kásim, had been allowed to reside on the Dutch factory, and escaped some days later. Four sergeants also who had been sent for from Purná by Mír Kásim overpowered the crew of the boat in which they were being conveyed, and escaped.

From this date the fate of Sombre was allied to that of the deadliest enemies of the English. Thenceforward his life was a purgatory. He could expect but one fate should he fall into the hands of the countrymen of his murdered victims. He therefore always carried about with him poison to avoid a catastrophe which he never ceased to dread. Sombre took part in the battle of Patna (May 2nd 1764), fought by Mír Kásim ; and in that of Buxar fought by the Vizier of Oudh, against the English (23rd October 1764). In both these he displayed his usual shiftiness, retreating on the very suspicion of danger. After the ruin of Mír Kásim (1764) he had transferred himself and his brigade to the Vizier of Oudh, but he left him for the Jâts in August 1765.

Whilst serving with the Jâts Sombre purchased at Delhi a dancing girl, named Zeb-úl-Nissa, afterwards so notorious as the Bégam Sombre. She has been described as small and plump, with a fair complexion, and large animated eyes. She possessed great talents, the power of influencing others, and was utterly unscrupulous.

After his marriage with Zeb-úl-Nissa Sombre acted on the principle of offering his brigade to the highest bidder. Somehow he always commanded a good price. In 1776 he accepted service under Mirza Najaf Khan, the Commander-in-chief of the Moghol army, after having shared in the defeat inflicted by that leader upon his patrons, the Jâts, at Barsána the previous year. The following year the Court of Delhi conferred upon him the principality known as Sirdhána, yielding an annual rental of six lakhs

of rupees. This territory was nominally granted to Sombre for the payment of the troops under his command, but upon his death, 4th May 1778, it passed to Zeb-úl-Nissa, thenceforth known in history as the Bégam Sombre or Samrú.

After Sombre's death, the brigade was commanded under the Bégam first by one Pauly, a German, who was taken prisoner by Mahomed Beg Hamdání, and executed in breach of a solemn promise, in 1783. After the murder of Pauly, "three Freischmen," writes Major L. F. Smith, "Messieurs Baours, Evens, and Dudrenec, successively commanded and gladly retired." In 1793, the Bégam married her then chief officer M. Le Vaisseau, "a man of birth, talents and pride of character,"* who shot himself two years later. An old and respectable Frenchman, Colonel Saleur, then obtained the command. Under him, the brigade increased to six battalions and fought at Assaye, losing there its four guns and many men. The Bégam herself lived till 1836.

Madoc had been a common soldier in the French army. The capture of Chándarnagar in 1757 threw him loose on the country. After some adventures totally unworthy of being recorded, he joined Sombre's brigade, and served under his orders at the several battles in which he was engaged under Mír Kásim. With him he transferred his services in 1764 to the Vizier of Oudh, and obtained at once the command of a separate brigade. At the battle of Baxar he rendered good service. His character was the very opposite of that of Sombre. He was rash, enterprising, and even imprudent. In 1765 he transferred his brigade, which consisted of five battalions, twenty guns, and five hundred horse, to the Jâts. Subsequently, and as it suited his purpose, he took service alternately with them, with Mirza Najaf Khan, and with the Ráná of Góhad. In 1776, whilst in alliance with the first-named, he was attacked and his party almost destroyed at Biána by fifteen hundred Rohillas who surprised him during a storm of rain. On this occasion he lost twelve European officers, killed and wounded, all his guns and baggage, and fled, but scantily attended, to Futtehpúr. Thence, however, he made his way to Agra, and succeeded in raising in an incredibly short space of time, a force as strong in numbers, and as well appointed in men and in material as the party he had lost. Receiving shortly afterwards (1782) an offer of a large sum from the Ráná of Góhad for the brigade as it stood, he sold it to him and returned to France. He did not long survive, being killed in a duel. The subsequent life of his brigade was even shorter, Mádhájí Sindia, who was then warring with the Ráná, cutting it off to a man in an ambuscade (1784).

* Major L. F. Smith.

V.

It is now time to turn to Raymond.

Michel Joachim Marie Raymond was born at Serignac, the 20th September 1755. His father was a merchant, and the son followed the same profession. Pushed on by his enterprising nature, however, young Raymond determined to found a corresponding house in India, and with that object he set out in January 1775 from Lorient for Pondichery, taking with him a large quantity of manufactured goods. He disposed of these to great advantage at Pondichery; then, still drawn on by his ardent nature and his love of adventure, he entered as sub-lieutenant in a corps commanded by the Chevalier de Lassé in the service of Tippu Sahib. With this corps he fought throughout the campaigns of the war which began in 1780 against the English for the possession of Southern India.

When in March 1783 the Marquis de Bussy landed in India at the head of 2,300 men, one of his first acts was to offer to Raymond, as one who knew the country, the people, and the language, the post of Aide-de-Camp. Raymond accepted it, and took a share in all the actions under Bussy related in the first section of these papers.* Subsequently to the Treaty of Versailles and till the death of Bussy at Pondichery in January 1785, Raymond occupied the same post with the rank of captain. But on Bussy's death, he, with the consent of the governor, took service with Nizám Ali Khan, the Súbadár of the Dekhan.

The Súbadárs of the Dekhan had always been partial to the French. It had been under the brother of Nizám Ali that Bussy with his corps of Frenchmen had gained so great a renown. In July 1758 Bussy had been compelled by the policy of Lally to leave Haidarabád. He then made over charge to M. de Conflans. The following year, however, Conflans surrendered to the English, and the ruler of the Dekhan had been forced not only to renounce the French alliance, but to agree never to permit a French contingent to be quartered within his territories.

This treaty was regarded as binding by Nizám Ali Khan, when in 1761, he imprisoned and succeeded his brother. But there was another brother, Basálat Jang, who held in jaghír from Nizám Ali the district of Gantúr. Basálat, considering himself as bound by no treaty, and anxious to have in his service a body of foreigners upon whom he could depend, took into his pay a body of French troops. These were commanded by the younger Lally,† a nephew of the more famous general.

* *Vide Calcutta Review* for January 1877, Art. *French Mariners on the Indian Seas.*

† *Transactions in India*, London, 1786.

Nizám Ali, moved by the English, required his brother to disband this contingent. For five years he refused, and only at last complied when, quarreling with Haidar Ali, he found it necessary to conciliate the English. Nizám Ali at once took the corps into his own service.

The fate of the younger Lally I have never been able to ascertain, but it is certain that he and the men he commanded were lent in 1779 by the Nizám to Haidar Ali to aid in the prosecution of his war against the English; that they served throughout that war, and on the conclusion of peace returned to Haidarabád.* It seems probable that Lally died or resigned in 1785: certain it is that in that year Raymond succeeded him.

Up to the time of Raymond's arrival at Haidarabád the foreign adventurers who had served his predecessor had constituted one single corps of European cavalry. Simultaneously almost with de Boigne Raymond conceived the idea of improving this system by raising and drilling in the European fashion a considerable body of native troops, who should be commanded, and in part officered, by the adventurers who had survived the then recent campaign.

To this task Raymond bent all his energies. The work was gradual in its accomplishment. It may be asked, perhaps, how the Nizám was able to evade his obligation to the British Government? But this was not difficult. His predecessor had been forbidden to entertain a corps of Frenchmen. This, the Nizám agreed, was not intended to apply, and could not apply, to native battalions officered by foreigners. Notwithstanding, then, the displeasure frequently expressed by the Madras Government, Raymond, under the Nizám's orders, continued to augment the disciplined native troops.

His plan of procedure was different to de Boigne's, and had some advantages over it. These, however, were owing to the larger European material available in his hands. Thus he was able to fix the complement of the European officers to each regiment at eight, of the men at seven hundred and fifty.

By the beginning of the year 1795 Raymond had under his command fifteen thousand disciplined troops, formed into twenty battalions, and officered, including the staff, by one hundred and twenty-four Europeans. It was the most formidable body of native troops in the service of a native prince in India. For their support the Nizám assigned to Raymond several districts.

Nevertheless, the first essay of these troops on the field of battle was destined to be unfortunate. In the beginning of 1795 the Nizám, incited by the anarchy prevailing at the court of Púna

declared war against the Peshwá, and marched to overthrow the Máhrátá Empire. The Peshwá summoned his vassals and raised an army to meet him. The two armies met between Kardlá and Parindá, the 12th March 1795. Raymond had all his men in the field; whilst the Máhrátás were aided by twenty-six battalions composed of the men of the brigades of Perron, Filoze, Hessian, Dudrenec, and Boyd. In the sketch of Perron's career I have given an account of the action. It will be seen that not only did Raymond obtain at first an advantage over the Máhrátás, but that when the tide turned, he covered the retreat, prepared at any moment to convert it into a victory.* But for the pusillanimity of the Nizám he might have done so. But with such a leader even a Raymond could not force victory.

During this war with the Máhrátás, the Governor-General, Lord Teignmouth, had lent the Nizám two battalions of British sepoys to maintain the internal peace of his dominions, while he should concentrate all his forces against the enemy. In doing this Lord Teignmouth had displayed a consideration for the Nizám which might easily have been construed as exceeding the bounds of permissible courtesy, the British being still in alliance with the Peshwá. But even this did not satisfy the Nizám. He wanted active aid; and because he had been refused, he, on the termination of the war, resolved to dispense altogether with British support, and to supply its place by additions to the corps of Raymond. In pursuance of this resolution he, in June 1795, dismissed the two British battalions. Coincidentally with this dismissal he ordered a large increase to Raymond's troops and assigned fresh districts for their maintenance.

But the British troops had scarcely quitted Haidarabád when an event occurred, the effects of which rendered the timorous Nizám more dependent than ever on the allies he was insulting. His eldest son, Ali Jáh, following the family traditions, broke out into rebellion. Quitting the capital under a false pretext the young prince made his way to Bidr, obtained possession of that fortress and of others of less importance, summoned disaffected chiefs and disbanded sepoys to his standard, and was soon able to present a very formidable front to his outraged father.

The first act of Nizám Ali on learning of this revolt was to recall the two British battalions; his second to despatch Raymond against the rebels. Raymond experienced no difficulty. The slightest skirmish sufficed to dissipate the followers of Ali Jáh. The prince fled to Aurangabád, but was pursued and captured. Raymond made over his prisoner to the minister sent by his father to take charge of him. The minister when setting out on his return journey to Haidarabád, directed that the *howdah* in which the prince was seated should be covered with a veil.

But Ali Jáh, ashamed of this indignity and afraid to meet his father, took poison and died.

Notwithstanding the suppression of the rebellion, the Nizám still retained the two British regiments at Haidarabád, and he himself fell gradually into a state of dependence on the British Government. This was further evidenced by the difficulties thrown in the way of carrying out the order for the increase of Raymond's corps. The prudent conduct of Raymond at this crisis was not, however, without influence on the mind of his capricious master, and it seems not improbable that, had he lived, all opposition to his schemes would have vanished. He died, however, very suddenly on the 25th March 1798, just six months prior to the arrival of the crisis which would have tried to the utmost his ability and his influence.

Raymond was a great loss to the enemies of England. No adventurer in India ever stood higher than he did. He was brave, magnificent, generous, affable, and vigilant. To great abilities he united the most consummate prudence. The one dream of his life was to carry out, by the means still open to him, the schemes of Dupleix, of Lally, and of Suffren. He deserves to be ranked with those illustrious warriors in the hierarchy of patriotic Frenchmen. With far fewer means he laid the foundation of a system which excited the greatest apprehension in the minds of the enemies of his country. To die at the early age of forty-four, just as the crisis to which he might have been equal was approaching, was an evidence of love from which his friends would gladly have exempted him. It is indeed possible that his reputation has not suffered from his early death. Even Raymond might have proved unequal to cope with the great Marquess Wellesley, wielding all the power of British India. But there is this yet to be said of him. No European of mark who preceded him, no European of mark who followed him, in India, ever succeeded in gaining to such an extent the love, the esteem, the admiration of the natives of the country. The grandsons of the men who loved him then love and revere him now. The hero of the grandfathers is the model warrior of the grandchildren. Round his tomb in the present day there flock still young men and maidens listening to the tales told by the wild dervishes of the great deeds and lofty aspirations of the paladin to whom their sires devoted their fortunes and their lives.

Raymond was succeeded in the command of the French division by M. Piron, a Fleming. Piron was honest, but sadly deficient in prudence. He could not conceal the hatred which he felt towards the English. It happened that Marquess Wellesley had just landed as Governor General strongly impressed with the designs of General Bonaparte on India, and almost his first act

was to require the Nizám to dismiss his French contingent. It is possible that the prudent Raymond might have conjured away or have met the storm. Piron did not possess sufficient character to do either. The Nizám was very unwilling to comply. But he yielded to the pressure put upon him by the great Marquess, and on the 1st September 1798, he signed a treaty by which he agreed to receive no Frenchman in his service, to disband the whole of the infantry lately commanded by Raymond, and to receive in their stead a contingent of British sepoy.

No sooner had the treaty been concluded than four battalions of British sepoy with their guns marched to Haidarabád, and joined the two battalions formerly stationed there. Some hesitation was even then displayed by the Nizám to break up Piron's corps; but the threatening attitude assumed by the British forced him to issue a proclamation to his disciplined sepoy informing them that their French officers were dismissed. The scene that followed was remarkable. These sepoy had adored Raymond; they had looked to their European officers with affection and pride; they would have followed them to the end of the earth; they knew that their dismissal was due, not to the wish of the Nizám, but to British influence. On hearing, then, the proclamation of the Nizám, they first murmured, then broke out into rebellion. But their European officers had been secured; their cantonments had been surrounded; from every point they saw their position commanded by cannon. Resistance being then hopeless, they surrendered, asking each other with a sigh; "would this have been, had Raymond only lived?" The French officers were sent to France.

I have now brought to a close this sketch of the careers of the principal foreign adventurers who flourished in India between the signature of the treaty of Versailles and the fatal blow dealt to the Máhrátá Empire by Marquess Wellesley in 1803-4. From that moment the British Empire in India was secure. Thenceforth neither native prince nor foreign adventurer could stay its onward progress. Any war which might break out, from the Satlaj down to the sea, could cause no serious disquiet to the Governor-General of British India. Even the acute sovereign of the warlike clan which had established a powerful monarchy beyond the Satlaj,—even Ranjit Singh foresaw the doom which awaited even the kingdom he had created. "It will all," he said, as he noted on the map the red border which encircled the various provinces already under British sway, "it will all become red." His words were a prophecy. The impetus given to the vast machine could not be stopped until the final goal had been attained.

The various, so to speak, indigenous races which had tried to found an empire in India had failed. The Hindús, brave as they

were, became to a great extent demoralised by an over-refinement of civilisation; an over-refinement which, amongst other strange forms, made of food a religion. This one law, this article of faith, which prevents combination, restricts men to a certain diet, to be partaken of only under certain fixed conditions, is sufficient in the present day to prevent the race which practises it from holding the chief sway over such a country as Hindostan. The northern warriors who ruled on their ruin had defects of an opposite character not less fatal to permanent predominance. With some brilliant exceptions they were intolerant, and the security—the very existence even—of their rule always depended on the character of the ruler. The Máhrátás, who succeeded them, were in every sense of the word adventurers,—fortune hunters who rose from nothing, men of neither birth, position, nor descent,—the marauders which a country in the last throes of its agony sends out from its lurking places to plunder and destroy. Such was Sívájí; such were the earlier representatives of the Gáikwár, of Sindia, of Holkur, and of the Bhónslé. Yet these men founded an empire. The Máhrátás succeeded the Moghols. When Lord Lake entered Delhi in 1803, the men he had beaten beneath its walls were the soldiers of the greatest of the Máhrátá chieftains. Virtually he restored the Moghol.

Could the Máhrátá empire have lasted if there had been no foreign power on the spot to supplant it? To those who would pause for a reply I would point to the condition of the court of Púna after the death of the Peshwa, Madhú Ráo Narain, in 1795. It was the court of Delhi after the demise of a sovereign in its worst days. It was the court of Delhi as it always was after the death of Aurangzib. The Máhrátá system of rule was cursed with the same inherent vice which was the bane of the Moghol sway. The succession was never secure to any one member of the family. The people were never safe against the exactions of their rulers. The rulers were never safe against treachery and insurrection. The inevitable consequences were intrigue, rapine, slaughter; constant wars; incessant oppression of the people. Had there been no foreigners on the spot to supplant the Máhrátá rule it is probable that the various members of its clan would have fought to a standstill, only in the end to make way for some new invader from the north,—possibly, for the moment, for Ranjit Singh,—to relapse, on his death, into renewed anarchy.

It would seem, then, to have been necessary for the safety of India that the successor to the Máhrátá should be a foreigner. Who was that foreigner to be? It was inevitable that he should come from Europe, for the children of northern Asia had been tried and found wanting. Portugal made the first venture, ignorant of the possible stake she might be called to play for. Holland, with a keener though still very dim appreciation of the future, followed

and, in part, supplanted Portugal. Then came England with a vision more clouded than that of Holland, caring nothing for dominion, looking only for gain. Last of all stepped in France. To the brilliant intellect of her gifted sons the nature of the mission which lay before one European power was not for long a sealed book. The greatest of the children whom she sent to India, recognising the priceless value of the stake, risked his all to win it. Had the Bourbon who ruled France properly supported him he would have won it. As it was, the intensity of the passion he displayed in playing the great game communicated some vague idea of its importance to his English rivals. The genius of Clive clutched it; the statesmanlike brain of Warren Hastings nurtured it; the commanding intellect of Marquess Wellesley established it as an ineradicable fact. Yet, throughout this period, France, which had been the first to conceive the idea, never resigned it. She had much to contend against. The narrow visions of her monarch and her statesmen could not grasp the vital importance of the mighty stake. It was these men who prevented India from becoming French. I have but to point to a few instances of their incapacity. The restoration of Madras by the peace of Aix la Chapelle; the recall of Dupleix, when if they had sent him but one regiment more, he would have gained southern India; the diminution of the forces ordered to be sent with Lally; the appointment as his colleague of such a man as d'Aché; the acknowledgment by the treaty of Versailles of the *status quo ante bellum*, when the English were reduced to their last gasp in southern India; all these were fatal errors due to that want of comprehensive grasp which marked the statesmen of the later Bourbons. Frenchmen on the spot, indeed, atoned nobly for the errors of their rulers. They fought for the idea, as long as it could be fought for; and when they beheld it slipping from their grasp they yet struggled with skill, with courage, and with pertinacity to prevent its appropriation by their rivals. In my history of the French in India, and in three recent articles in this *Review*, I have endeavoured to draw a vivid and a true picture of their aims and of their struggles. Those aims were worthy of being recorded, for they were lofty; those struggles deserved a historian, for they were gallant. The record reveals to us, moreover, this great people displaying qualities for which the world has not given them credit. We all knew that the French were clever, brave, and venturesome. Not every one, however, is prepared to find in a Frenchman the long pertinacity displayed by Dupleix; the quality of not knowing when he was beaten evinced by Suffren; the daring hardihood of her privateersmen; or lastly, the patience, the energy, the perseverance shown under trying circumstances by many of the adventurers whose deeds have been recorded in

this number. England, who, grasping gradually the idea of France, now occupies the position to which a Frenchman first aspired, only does honour to herself when she recognises the splendid qualities displayed by her most formidable rival ; allows that on the sea as well as on land she met a worthy antagonist ; and admits, that if for the favourable result of the contest she owes much to the genius and the comprehensive views of the great statesmen who guided the councils of her country during a large portion of the eighteenth century, she is indebted even to a greater extent to the errors committed by the statesmen of the enemy she was combating.

G. B. MALLESON.

ART. II.—INDIAN EMIGRATION TO CEYLON.*

FROM nearly every country in the world, to which a portion of the surplus population of India or China has gone for labour purposes, the superabundant peoples of old and crowded lands serving to redress the lack of newer countries,—ever and anon has risen a cry of cruelty and oppression from the dark-skinned *employé* against the white employer, until Englishmen at home have felt compelled to greatly sorrow over the doings of their countrymen in distant lands. The remark has been made with reference to newly-colonised countries, where soil for the tiller lies in aggravating abundance, that every man would be a slaveholder if he could. With not a few qualifications this statement would almost seem to be true; but, it is hard for those at a distance—and it is they who have made the remark—to fairly judge of persons in such a position. In a matter of this kind, where labour disputes are not degraded by slavery, and the labourer has a large amount of freedom, so many circumstances intervene, sins of omission and commission on the part of the labourer as well as acts of impatience and greed of wealth on the part of the master—that outsiders cannot fairly judge, at least outsiders who are unacquainted with the side lights that local knowledge alone throws on such complications. The Italians have a proverb, “To know all is to forgive all;” the charity here inculcated is greatly needed in cases like those which Mauritius has recently made familiar. The terrible story which has been told by the Commissioners sent to enquire into the State immigrant coolies in Mauritius is fresh in the minds of the public. Some satisfaction may be found in the fact that the planters of Mauritius were not pure Britons, had, indeed, very little of English blood in them. But if any found consolation in this fact, the debate in the House of Lords in July, 1875, on the treatment of coolies in Penang, must have taken away the ground of their hope, though, as we read of the indignation of noble Lords at the cruelty shown to the Indian immigrant in Mauritius, the thought rose unbidden that the honourable House thus occupied was not altogether free of acts of oppression of the worst kind. Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, admitted that a miscarriage of justice, in regard to coolies, had taken place in the Province Wellesley, in Penang; a Province that, less than twenty years ago, was under the direct rule of the Governor-General of India. Make what deductions

* It should be stated that this statistical statements not being article was written nearly two brought up to a more recent date years ago; which will account for the than the end of 1874.

we will, all these facts, including the late Natal difficulty, must help to drive untravelled Englishmen to ask, "Is there nowhere a land to be found in which my countrymen deal quite fairly with an inferior race, by whom they obtain a livelihood or amass wealth?" It is seldom that there is gross and complete darkness everywhere; somewhere the lamp is kept alight, and men need never utterly despair. Nor, at this juncture, have Englishmen to put on sack-cloth and sit in ashes, as though everywhere in "plantation" colonies, the weakest went to the wall. It is the proud boast of Ceylon, who has fully half-a-million of "foreign" labourers working on her hill-sides and in her low-country stores, that she has never engaged the attention of the Houses of Parliament in respect of the treatment of her immigrants. Seldom do questions have to be put in her Legislative Council as to alleged miscarriages of justice, in which the cooly is the suppliant. Among the colonies of the British Empire, where immigrant labour is employed, she wears the "white flower of a blameless life."* The writer pens the foregoing remark only after careful enquiry, and, if he may himself say so, diligent research. But, in claiming all that may be claimed for Ceylon, it is not to be said that there have been no collisions between employers and employed, no breaches of trust or attempt at imposition here and there, but that, taken on the whole, Ceylon has no immigrant history comparable to that of Mauritius, or of British Guiana, or of Peru, which latter country vainly attempted to thrive upon the iniquities of the dreadful Macao trade. "Happy is that country which has no history," and the cooly-labour history of the first coffee-growing country in the British Empire is happy in not being able to claim a place where 'tis no honour to be notable, but much the reverse. A recital of the circumstances under which a stream of immigration, represented by considerably more than one hundred thousand persons annually, of their own free will leaving their homes and going to another country to find work, cannot fail to be interesting to Indian readers, more especially to the readers of this *Review*, to whom coercion of the bodies of men is as distasteful as an attempted sovereignty over the souls and consciences of individuals.

Englishmen, as has been said, have little to be ashamed of in the story that is to be told of Ceylon labour and how it is obtained. The facts impressed upon the mind of the writer from personal observation and research, serve to illustrate the soundness

* Sir Charles Dilke, in his "Great-er Britain," when dealing with the immigrant labour of Ceylon, does the planters of that colony, a great injustice. His book has been more than once publicly burnt by the class un-

fairly described by the Member for Chelsea. When a case of even slight oppression of coolies occurs, as two years ago was the case, public opinion literally drove the guilty planter out of the Island.

of that principle of self-government which the municipalities of England develop, and which the educated genius of the Anglo-Saxon people strengthen, that principle which is being so much scouted by many now-a-days,—that the law of supply and demand, with hitches now and again owing to exceptional circumstances, will satisfy all real wants. The author of "The Study of Sociology" might have found illustrations in the East as cogent as those he has gleaned from Western rule, of the incompetency of governments to rightly do the work that people ought to do for themselves. He would find that when the coffee crop was falling off the trees and rotting on the moist soil for want of pickers, and Government intervened to redress the balance, matters became a great deal worse, much money was expended, and no good whatever done. Left to itself, and to the contracts made between the parties to the bargain, things have worked smoothly, and the cases where this fundamental rule of political economy has broken down are hard to find. It is a pity that, so far as our tropical colonies are concerned, the impression is so widely prevalent that the people under British rule must be treated as children, and, consequently, that "paternal" legislation is alone fitted for them. Unfortunately, as matters are now going on in the imperial legislature, there is not much to give strength to the endeavours of those who would labour for a healthier mode of dealing, not only in England, but also amongst races of people, as in Ceylon, who are moving upwards in the scale of manliness and self-trust, and who will have to be treated differently by their alien rulers twenty years hence, than they are now. But to return to Ceylon's need of immigrant labour, and how that want was supplied.

With the abolition, forty years ago, of slavery in the West Indies, the coffee-growing colonies of those regions were ruined. Just at that time it had been discovered that the coffee shrub (*Coffea Arabica*), which had long grown wild in the Island of Ceylon, and the leaves of which hitherto had only been turned to use, would grow on the mountains and bear fruit abundantly. Forests were soon felled and burned; shrubs were planted out; in three years they began to bear fruit, and then it was discovered that there was no labour to pluck and garner the ripened berries. The inhabitant of the villages nestled in the valleys, who had his ancestral terraced rice-fields to cultivate, would take the axe and cut down the forest tree, but Bal Hami would not pluck the coffee berry. The low-country Sinhalese man was willing to do carpentry work in building a bungalow or store, or act as house servant, but he would not take a bag and fill it with the red berry, which the English planter soon appropriately termed "cherry." Nothing, so far as human possibilities of invention can at present be seen, will ever be devised which shall pass up and down the straight lines of

coffee trees, and gather the ripe fruit, passing over that not yet matured. Consequently, human fingers must pick the berry, if it is ever to be plucked at all. In times not yet forgotten in England, when steam-reaping machines were unknown, or were very rare, a paucity of labour put the English farmer in a dilemma similar to that of the Ceylon coffee-planter two-score years ago. The English farmer's extremity was the Irish labourer's opportunity, and St. George's Channel was braved and crossed. Precisely so has it been with regard to Ceylon and Southern India. The coolies from the densely-populated provinces of the parts of India, separated from Ceylon only by a "silver streak," left the villages where they were almost starving, ventured across the Straits in a *dhoney* (native vessel), helped the planter to pick the crop, received the rupees that had been earned, and then returned by the way they had come to astonish their friends and acquaintances with an amount of money such as they had only previously dreamed of, and stimulating them, in their turn, to venture forth for a few months, to see if they might thus happily return. Here was the germ of a common-sense arrangement which, the reader will suppose, developed into proportions large enough to meet the demand, and as the attendant circumstances can be very well imagined, no more would need to be said, but that all interested might be congratulated on so easy a solution of a very great question. So says common-sense, but that commodity is oftentimes scarce amongst rulers, and the history of immigration to Ceylon is but another instance in proof of this. The Government of the Madras Presidency must needs interfere with emigration, preferring rather that their subjects should starve at home than that another country should be benefitted by their labour, and the people themselves enriched. So they meddled with the matter and muddled it. The Madras authorities having bestirred themselves, of course Government Secretaries in Colombo could not keep their pens from paper; they entered the lists to protect the interests of the planters, and much "sound and fury signifying nothing" resulted. But, before detailing doughty deeds like these, it may be well to see how great was the poverty of the people in the regions whence Ceylon wished to draw her labour-supply.

The effect of the English occupancy of India has been to raise the wages of the labourer, whose position now in many places is much better than it was forty years ago. Consequently, injustice will not be done to the position of the Malabar "rayat" of 1830-40 if one or two documents are quoted, bearing date of only a few years ago, describing the position of the people, taking care that there are not special circumstances to complicate the question. To prove that higher wages are now paid to the Indian

labourer, compared with an earlier period, it may suffice to extract a passage or two from an unquestioned authority, Mr. Thomas Brassey, M.P., who, in his book on "Work and Wages" says (pp. 57 and 58):—

"Since 1853 we have subscribed no less than £40,000,000 for Indian railways. A considerable portion of this sum has been paid to native labourers, and the result has been that in the districts traversed by these railways, wages have advanced within a short time no less than 100 per cent. In consequence of the great demand for workmen, the price of labour has increased to a still more marvellous extent in Bombay. Wages in that Presidency are now three times higher than in Bengal and the Punjab.

"The following table shows the variations in the average monthly wages of a carpenter in Bombay:—

1830-39	1840-49	1850-59	1863.
30s. 4d.	28s. 10d	32s. 7½d.	68s.

"The following table shows the wages of a cooly at the same periods:—

1830-39	1840-49	1850-59	1863.
14s. 9½d.	12s. 3½d.	14s. 2d.	27s.

"Everywhere in the vicinity of railway works the Collectors remark on their great effect of raising wages. The practice of promptly paying for all labour in liberal money wages caused an important social revolution in the habits of all who live by labour, even at a great distance from railway works. The labourers often travelled 200 miles to obtain work so paid, returning home at the harvest time."

Railways, too, have been, and are being, made in Southern India, and yet documents, emanating from a respected Native Member of Council, and a Collector under the Madras Government, respectively, tell pitiful tales of life barely supported. Some of their statements are appended. The Hon'ble S. Ramiengar, C.S.I. in a paper, "On Taxation and Wages in the Madras Presidency," says:—

"Allowing for feast days, days on which religious ceremonies, bathing in oil, &c., are performed, a cooly will not work more than two-thirds of a month, and the working season cannot be put down at more than eight months (in the year). The earnings of a cooly and his wife may accordingly be taken as between Rs. 43 and Rs. 60 a year, according to the nature of their work, and taking their expenditure as equivalent to seven kotahs of Paddy (or at Rs. 6 a kotah) equivalent to Rs. 42, or at the higher rate as equivalent to Rs. 55 a year, there is a margin of saving which, however is, I believe, actually but seldom put by. There is, however, no doubt that this class is better off than the hereditary farm servants. The Shanars, or palmyra climbers simply get a share of the sweet toddy, and the *jaggery* or coarse sugar which they collect for their employer; one Shanar cannot extract the produce of more than thirty trees in the working season and from this he gets a share selling such of the *jaggery* as he does not require for consumption. The working season comprises some eight months, and his earnings cannot be more than Rs. 3 or Rs. 3-8-0 per mensem, or Rs. 24 or Rs. 28 a year. On this they do manage to exist, but more often than not they have only one meal a day, consisting of rice or other grain, with some toddy and *jaggery* during the day time."

Again :—

"I do not think agricultural labourers in other districts generally earn so much as in Tanjore. In some districts the wages consist on an average of but two Madras measures of grain per diem, or sixty measures a month, equal to $12 \times 60 = 720$ measures or 90 mercials per annum. This, in money, is equivalent to Rs. 30 or Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ a month.

"Taking the whole Presidency it will probably not be much wide of the mark to assume the average earnings of unskilled labourers to amount to about Rs. 3 a month.

"There can be no doubt that the wages of labour have increased since Fuslis 1263 (A.D. 1853-4) though not in proportion to prices. It is believed that while the latter have risen by 100 per cent. the former have increased by about 50 per cent. and so far the condition of the labouring classes must be held to have improved of late years."

Mr. F. Brandt, sub-Collector of Tinnevely, reports as follows :—

"The hereditary cultivating peasants, as they are here called, who not so very many years ago were absolute slaves, and whose condition is but little above slavery now, are invariably, I believe, paid in grain, whether in zemindaries or lands held by other landowners. The working season may be taken as consisting of eight or nine months in the year, of which some sixty days they will be employed in cultivation of the land, and some forty days in harvesting operations; during the rest of these eight or nine months they will get some odd work in the way of baling water, and so on. The earning of a Pullor and his wife during the working season are found to be, in the Vally division of the Nauguneri Taluq, about as follows :—

Two measures of rice a day, or—

Kotah	Mercials	Measures.	
3	4	4	For nine months,
1	10	4	Harvest allowances.
0	6	0	Special allowances called <i>Syutantaram</i> or <i>Nulla</i> .
		"	<i>Nashan</i> (i. e. allowances for good or for bad), as in the case of a birth, marriage, maturity of a child, or death in the family.
1	0	0	... Gleaning.
<hr/> Total 6	<hr/> 0	<hr/> 0	

Calculating the kotah at Rs. 6 in money this is Rs. 36 in the year.

The expenditure may be taken as follows :—

	Rs.
Diet and household expenses, the equivalent	24
Drink, without which they will not work	6
Clothing	6
	<hr/> Rs. 36

In Shermadevi, in the Ambasamudram Taluq, a Pullor is

reckoned to get about one and a half measure, and his wife one measure a day in the working season, or—

K.	M.	M.	
1	10	3	
0	10	4	... Allowances at the Pesharnam harvest.
0	7	4	... Do. Do. Kar Do.
0	1	3	... <i>Soutantrams</i> .
2	10	0	... By other field labour.
0	4	0	... Gleaning.
2	0	0	.. By extra odd jobs.

Total 7 0 0 ... Equivalent to Rs. 42 per annum.

Statements like these need no comment. The country in which the people live who are thus described, is a plain extending over a vast area, which Englishmen may fairly picture to themselves, if they have seen the fen country of Eastern England, and will suppose that flat surface almost indefinitely extended on every side. This plain of the South of India is paralleled by similar flat country in the North-West, and a very vivid description of the latter given in a recent work of fiction,* would serve to describe the populous regions between the Coromandel and the Malabar Coasts, where the triangle which India forms is narrowed to a point. The census taken in 1871 gives the annexed return as regards the districts to which Ceylon looks for her labour supply:—

Districts.		Area in square miles.	Population, Census of 15th November, 1871.
Tanjore	...	3,739	2,290,400
Trichinopoly	...	3,591	1,200,400
Madura	...	3,784	2,266,600
Tinnevelly	...	4,815	1,694,000
Totals	...	15,929	7,451,400

In 1839 migration to Ceylon first became certain and regular. Several thousands of coolies are estimated to have entered the country in that year. In 1843, when official returns began to be compiled, the number of arrivals was 36,600, while in 1865 nearly 90,000 were reckoned, and in 1874, 125,156. The following table, compiled by the Editors of the *Ceylon Observer*, will give an idea of the gradually-increasing stream, and its component parts:—

* The Chronicles of Dustipore, London, 1875.

[illegible]

The annexed table shows the ports of Ceylon most favoured by the immigrants as landing places, and the numbers landed at each in one year, viz., 1874 :—

Ports	Total from the commencement of the year.	
	Arrivals.	Departures.
COLOMBO.		
Men ...	23,435	30,480
Women	3,910	3,561
Children	4,997	3,374
NEGOMBO.		
Men ...	71	113
Women	2	0
Children	17	5
KALPITIYA.		
Men ...	108	21
Women	13	4
Children	12	0
MANNAR.		
Men ...	36	1,125
Women	0	17
Children	0	12
PESALAI.		
Men ...	59,724	21,592
Women	15,619	3,447
Children	2,685	1,248
VANKALAI.		
Men ...	12,285	1,988
Women	1,826	3,670
Children	386	1,179
Total ...		125,156*
		89,727

Having thus seen the immigrants reach a land where their presence was much needed, we may go on to notice the action of Government, at first baneful, then beneficial, with a few remarks on

* Of this total the compiler of the *Ceylon Directory*, Mr. A. M. Ferguson, says:—"The most satisfactory feature in last year's figures is the large surplus of immigrants left in the island. This discrepancy (35,000) indicates the great present demand for coolylabour, and also we may hope in some degree the advancing rate at which

the Tamils of Southern India are becoming, comparatively, permanently settled in the island. The large percentage of women, and especially of children, in the arrivals for last year, also favours the probability of a lengthened stay, if not permanent settlement."

the cooly himself and some of the outgrowing results of the labour movement.

I.—*The Baneful Action of Government.*

Labourers, in small gangs, had been arriving in the island for fully ten years before the Government bestirred itself to do much for the comfort and convenience of the immigrants; then sheds were built at three or four places on the road between Mannar, the port of landing in the north, and Kandy, the mountain capital, situated in the centre of the districts then opened, a distance of 200 miles. But the accommodation thus provided must have been of the scantiest; for, in 1854, when the planters formed their Association * (a Trades' Union of Employers), one of the first things done was to communicate with Government on the dilapidated condition of these sheds. But the authorities had not been content with exercising their power in the matter of providing shelter, they proceeded to do what was clearly then right, and very necessary, *viz.*, to pass a Labour Law. By the Ordinance No. 5 of 1841 estate coolies were to be considered monthly servants, though paid by the day, even if no written contract existed. The master was entitled to discharge his labourer without previous notice, provided such labourer was instantly paid his wages for the time he had served, and also for fifteen days from the time of his discharge. Matters continued to work on the whole satisfactorily; no substantial injustice being done on either side, coolies arriving in yearly increasing numbers. In 1857-58, however, owing to the increased acreage of coffee land under cultivation, planters began to get alarmed as to the supply of labour, the mutiny in India during the former year doubtless having something to do with the fears entertained. Hitherto cooly recruiting had proceeded on this basis: when the in-gathering of crop was over, and the coffee beans had been despatched to the port of shipment, a large proportion of the estate force was paid off, and they departed to their own country, to return to the estates in the course of six or eight months. To the *kanganis* (overseers of small gangs) who were deemed trustworthy, sums of money were given, called "Coast Advances," which were to be spent at discretion in giving (what is denominated "earnest" at English statute hiring fairs) to coolies desirous to emigrate, and who might need a few rupees to pay their debts in the village, to leave with their families, and to pay their way in travelling to the scene of their future labours. Though large sums were given out in this way, marvellously little

An Agricultural Society had previously been in existence, but it does not seem to have done much.

of it was misappropriated, * and in the earlier days of immigration there was little but the bare word of the *kangani* to trust.† The supply of labour not being equal to the demand, it was thought advisable that a "Cooly Transport Company" should be formed, and that an agent should be stationed in Southern India to beat up recruits and send them across the Ferry. It was hoped that the advance system would thus be done away with. £25,000 was the capital estimated for this company, half to be raised in Ceylon, half in England; the moiety from England was easily raised, but the scheme received little support in the island, and soon fell through. Unwarned by the fact that where a private company had failed, a tape-bound Government Commission could scarcely, by any manner of means, succeed, in 1858, the Queen's Advocate of Ceylon introduced to the Legislative Council a bill entitled, "An Ordinance for the Regulation and Promotion of Immigrant Labour." What was the result? In 1858, while the bill was under weigh, the coolies landed were 96,062 in number: the year after the Commission created by this ordinance had been at work the arrivals had sank to 40,105. No wonder that in the succeeding session the bill was repealed.

The authorities seem to have been possessed with the notion that if they took a horse to water they could make him drink. The coolies of Southern India are a most conservative race. It was a great thing for them to break through caste rules and discard other trammels and go forth to seek employment out of their own "village," but the labourers who first came to Ceylon took the short sea route across the Straits of Mannar, and tramped along the North Road till they reached their destination. It is true that, at that time, rivers were unbridged, streams were often swollen, wild beasts infested the jungle, food *depôts* were few, but the pioneers of the system had come that way: the first sheep in the flock leaped over the obstacle, and all others continued to leap, even when the obstacle had been removed. The Ceylon authorities thought that if they had swift-sailing vessels (steamers) at Tuticorin, the southernmost port of India, coolies would assemble there, whence they could be taken to Colombo in from ten to twenty hours, and easily conveyed to the coffee districts. The coolies could not see this. It might be that they preferred entering

* At a discussion in the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce in July last, [1875] a merchant, Mr. Sabonadiere, said, that as regarded the present system, he did not think it a very bad one, especially with respect to loss of money. He had to do with Coast advances, as a planter, for many years,

and had not lost much by it. Considering the large force obtained a very nominal premium was paid.

† Now orders on the Indian *kachcheries* are issued by the Ceylon Government, but a good deal of "greasing the palm" is necessary to get these orders promptly cashed.

Ceylon by the north because a kindred race dwelt in that part of the island : Tamils from the continent, in fact, had hundreds of years before driven back the Sinhalese, and themselves occupied the land. Whereas, at Colombo, the immigrants, to a very great extent, were brought into contact with a foreign people.*

The sumptuary laws of the middle ages could hardly have been more elaborate than was this ordinance to help immigration ; it set out, in the preamble, " that it is expedient, from the large increase of public and other works, † to make special provision for the same by a fund to be created for that purpose." Some of the clauses of the ordinance were very curious, whilst, among other things provided for, was a tax of three shillings per cooly employed on estates. The ordinance, consisting of fifty clauses, having been passed, the gun-boat *Insolent* was offered by the home authorities, as a carrying vessel. Nothing, however, came of this offer. An agent was sent to Southern India, " to use every exertion to induce labourers to depart for Ceylon in sufficient numbers to gather the crop now ripening ;" but on the 26th of August, when a good deal of crop is ready for picking, not one cooly had been landed by the Commissioners. The steamer *Manchester* was engaged for the trade, but the Secretary to the Commission, Mr. Robert Dawson, seems to have seen how futile and ridiculous were the measures proposed ; for in a letter, dated 13th September, he says :—" I am of opinion the *Manchester* will now bring over at least 300 people each voyage. Is it, therefore, judicious to saddle the colony with a burden of £14,000 or perhaps £20,000 a year for the purpose of obtaining during the next two months, the full number of coolies the *Manchester* is allowed to carry ?" In exactly two months the *Manchester* had brought over 2,000 coolies, and had earned £291-6-9, while the expenditure had been £2,651-9, resulting in a great loss. Altogether, to the end of September, £10,420-8-8 had been expended to no practical purpose.

Foiled in this attempt, the Commissioners (all the while being highly paid for their labours), tried to graft on Ceylon the sys-

* Now, however, a change of route is likely to find favour. A large number of coolies, already go to Colombo from Tuticorin, and the extension of the railway to this town, tapping, as it does, some of the more populous of the districts, will bring many emigrants by this way. A planter, of much experience, who recently visited Southern India, has favoured the writer with some notes of his visit, in which he points out

that an immense number of people were idling about the villages, and that the numbers working in Ceylon cannot affect adversely cultivation in Southern India, but otherwise.

† The railway was then commenced. So prosperous is it that last year it brought nearly £200,000 into the treasury chest, clear profit, whilst an extension has been made out of current revenue.

Indian Emigration to Ceylon.

tem of long engagements in vogue between India and Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, and other places. This proposal, however, proved worse than useless, for it attracted the attention, whilst it stirred up the animosity, of the Madras Government, who suspected that a large portion of the population was leaving the Presidency. The consequence was that, though Ceylon had been recognised by the Governor-General of India in Council as geographically, and in other respects, a part of India, emigration from a portion of the Madras Presidency was absolutely forbidden by the local authorities. And this conducts us from the blundering of the Colonial rulers to the fatuous policy of the Presidency Governor and his advisers. Meanwhile we have come to the year 1861; the Ceylon Immigration Commission has been dissolved; votes have been passed in Council helping to cover the expenditure incurred, while there was not much protest—for, sad to say, the public were accessories to the fact. The Government urgently wanting coolies for its own public works ignored Commissions, and had recourse to the services of a mercantile firm doing business in Colombo and Madras.

Planters were still short-handed, and forgetting how absolutely rotten the support of Government had previously proved, the Planters' Association again approached the authorities as suppliants. They asked if the Colonial Secretary had taken any proceedings to appoint an agent at Ganjam (Madras Presidency) to open up new fields whence to draw labour. The reply was that Government itself had been checkmated in its efforts in that direction. What the Madras authorities did is thus described in a letter to Government by the merchant employed :—

“By the annexed copies of letters from Mr. Forbes, the Agent to the Governor of the Madras Presidency, you will observe that he intimates, ‘that Government have not approved of the operation of the Emigration Agency being extended to this district, and that all persons collecting or shipping coolies without the consent of Government are liable to the penalty of the law,’ and, in a subsequent letter, he refuses the application to export coolies.

“I am aware that the Madras Government views with disfavour the emigration of the natives of the Presidency for service in Ceylon.”

Much correspondence followed, the Ceylon rulers being for once earnest in their endeavours to secure labour. The Colonial Secretary, in his letter to the Chief Secretary of the Madras Government, pointed out that according to the Indian Acts which control emigration, there was no legal impediment to Ceylon residents making any part of the Madras Presidency a recruiting ground for any amount of labour they required. Full assurance was given that nobody would be engaged except with their full and free consent, and that the provisions of Act XXV., 1859, (to prevent over-crowding in vessels) should be strictly enforced. In 1862 the Madras Government gave way, remarking that they would put no further

obstacles in the way of emigration. As an inducement to this end the Ceylon Secretary had stated "that a cooly in Ceylon could save out of his wages, at the present rate, 4, 5, or even 7, rupees a month."

With this concession from Madras ends the Government interference on either side of the Mannar Ferry in the arrangement of "a matter altogether out of their proper sphere, and beyond their legitimate control. The fact, however, should not be overlooked, that the people of Ceylon were not in advance of their rulers. The Planters' Association slow to read the "signs of the times," had kept up a spluttering fire at successive Governors, urging upon them to permit the use of the steamer *Pearl*, when not engaged at the Pearl Banks (for which service she was purchased) to convey coolies backwards and forwards between Southern India and Ceylon. Little came of the proposal, though it was not unfavourably regarded in vice-regal circles. So slow are men to learn lessons which shall shake their faith in the ability of Governments to do everything and remedy every evil, that, though failure and disaster, large expenditure and little results, are written so plainly on these transactions that "he may read who runs," only a few weeks since (in July, 1875), at a meeting of the Colombo Chamber of Commerce, the proposal of Government steamers was revived, an outbreak of cholera at the (Ceylon) landing ports in the north having dammed the stream of immigration for a few days. These broad facts remain, sufficient it would be thought, to discredit all future efforts of the kind: in 1861, when the Immigration Commissioners were exhibiting that zeal which in "new brooms" is proverbial, the number of arrivals was 40,105; as the years passed and the Commissioners were disbanded the newcomers rose to 53,422, and so on, higher still during the *régime* of "masterly inactivity," which happily continues to this day, until in 1874, as has been already said, the unprecedented number of 125,156 arrivals were recorded. In this instance, at least, "paternal" legislation failed, and if the experience thus dearly-bought could only be made available as guides to conduct today and tomorrow, Ceylon would be the wiser and happier. But the Governor in a Crown Colony of the "partial-freedom" type, is changed every five years; leading officials in fewer; each man comes a stranger to his work; and, as every day has its portion, the lessons of the past cannot be well learned, and the land is the loser because the valuable experience which has been garnered is not availed of. The rule of Crown Colonies from Downing-street has not yet reached practical perfection, radical change is necessary before it does this. In the body politic, too, in Ceylon, continual change is frequent; it is estimated that the European population of the island

changes in from eight to ten years. *Lasting* impressions are, therefore, difficult, so far as individuals are concerned. Fortunately for the world ideas and examples live, though men pass away.

II.—*The Beneficial Action of Government.*

THE Ceylon Government, as has been seen, in 1861 passed an ordinance, the main provisions of which are identical with Ordinance 5 of 1851, which has been alluded to. In addition, it sets out penalties to be imposed on persons seducing labourers from an employer, euphemistically known as "crimping." With this Labour Law, which is held, unlike the existing laws between master and servant in England, to be more favourable to the *employé* than to the employer, and the Ordinance 10 of 1862, making provision for the proper accommodation of coolies in the short voyage they have to take, similar to the inspection of emigrant ships in England, neither more nor less, one might have supposed that the Government had done enough for the immigrants. But, no! Ordinance No. 17 of 1862 was passed, imposing upon employers the necessity of making quarterly returns of the coolies in their service, births, deaths, &c. Further, while dealing with the ordinances specially passed in the interest of the cooly—up to 1863 twelve ordinances had been passed, seven then remaining in force*—it may be well to mention two others, one securing an important privilege to the immigrant. As regards the cooly himself, Ordinance 3 of 1847 "prohibits natives of India from entering into contracts in this island for labour to be performed in any British or foreign colony, beyond the limits of this island, and without the territories of India, and from immigrating from this island to any such colonies for the purpose of employment as labourers." No action under this ordinance has ever taken place. Further, the "important privilege" is secured to the immigrant of not having to pay the "poll-tax."

To explain the full force of the "important privilege" said to be secured to the cooly, it may be well to state that Ceylon stands pre-eminently above the other colonies of the empire in the matter of good roads, and plenty of them. The island is literally "gridironed" with them, and there is scarcely one that is not the highway of much traffic. They are kept in remarkably good order. Every male inhabitant, European and native, has to contribute annually six days' labour to the up-keep of these roads, for which labour, however, he may commute and pay the sum of

* Report on the Labour Laws of Ceylon, by R. Cayley, Barrister-at-Law, now Puisne Justice of the Supreme Court.

two rupees. The only exemptions are the Governor, soldiers, Buddhist priests, and immigrant coolies. Not only those in search of work are exempted, but also those actually employed in agricultural labour. Furthermore, to the benefit of the immigrant, "agreements for the hire of any labourer, artificer, manufacturer, or menial servant, are exempted from stamp-duty." This does not apply to any but Malabar coolies; an ordinance passed in 1872 for the registration of house servants requires a great many stamps including a new one for each change of service.

With all this effected the authorities did not see fit to stay their hand. In drawing attention to the latest Ordinance of the "paternal" kind, it must be pleaded in extenuation of the action of Government that there are exceptional circumstances in a Crown (plantation) Colony, which justify a great deal of legislation that would be indefensible in other countries, in England for instance. The writer finds himself called upon to approve much that is done by the authorities in Ceylon which he would strongly condemn if attempted in England. There is no disguising the fact that, colonisation being out of the question, the main object with nineteen-twentieths of the European residents in tropical countries, is to make as much money in as little time as possible, and then leave for happier climes and pleasanter surroundings. To men, eager in the pursuit of wealth, with labourers of a different race to their own, with whom is associated the prejudice that theirs is to labour while the owner of the fairer skin gets a lion's share of the result of that labour, it would argue the expectation of something more than the average human being has of tenderness, mercy, generosity, to suppose he would never be desirous to avail himself, beyond legitimate limits, of the labour of his servant. And more, that he would be unduly liberal in providing for the comfort of his *employés*. Much, therefore, may be done by a Government which finds such elements amongst its subjects, beyond merely enforcing the fulfilment of contracts and keeping the peace. Under the influence of this feeling many benefits have been conferred upon the immigrant, the greatest (as well as the latest) of which is known as the Medical Aid Ordinance, No. 13 of 1872. Under the provisions of this Act the cooly finds himself cared for in ill-health and treated in sickness far better even than the headman of his ancestral village would be. The assertion may fairly be made that nowhere in the world is a corresponding class of labourers and artisans so well attended to in times of sickness as is the Indian cooly in Ceylon. How came this special attention to be paid? Many years ago Government felt that it ought to do something in the interest of the "sick man" of the estates, and magnificent hospitals were erected in convenient centres. One of these, a beautiful bungalow-like

building, on the side of a main road, perfectly clean and neat, creepers climbing the pillared verandah and bright tropical flowers thickly scattered around, particularly attracted the writer's attention when, four years ago, he saw it for the first time. But these hospitals were simply costly failures: the coolies would not go to them for medical treatment, nor allow themselves to be taken thither. They would sooner die in their "lines" with their friends about them, than take the chance of being cured in hospital. All the while the physical state of the cooly was believed to be far from satisfactory. Government wanted to do something, but could not well see how to move. Eventually, in consequence of statements made to him by a leading planter, Sir Hercules Robinson (then Governor) caused a series of questions to be prepared, embracing the general health of labourers, the death-rate, and the necessity, or non-necessity for special European medical aid being provided in every district. These questions were sent, by the Planters' Association to the superintendents of estates, and several hundred replies were received. A very large number of planters were against any Government interference whatever, while others propounded elaborate schemes of district hospitals and dispensaries. The health of the cooly was stated to be pretty good, and the death-rate averaged only two per cent. This average was deduced from the quarterly returns sent to Government, and may be taken as fairly correct; but it should be borne in mind that the immigrants consist of the healthiest and most vigorous of the race, the old, weakly, and infirm being left behind in the Indian villages. Sir Hercules Robinson left the colony before the replies to these questions were sent in, but his successor, Mr. (now Sir) W. H. Gregory, late M.P. for Galway, took up the matter *con amore*; and, in spite of the opposition of the planters, an Ordinance was determined upon. A bill was introduced into the Legislative Council and the debate upon the second reading of the measure proved to be one of the most interesting ever heard in the Chamber. The opposition of the planters was carried into the Legislature. Mr. W. Martin Leake, representative of planting interests, moved the rejection of the measure. A passage from his speech is worth quoting. He said:—

"It was manifest that the cooly in Ceylon was a free man. Then as to his physical well-being. He was able to get work whenever he wanted it. Such a thing as a cooly out of employ was utterly unknown. He had said that the Colonial Secretary in 1861 had addressed a letter to the Government of India on the question of coolies from Ganjam. In that letter he stated:—

'I may here state, for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor of Madras in Council, that a cooly in Ceylon can save out of his wages, at the present rate, 4, 5, or even 7 rupees a month.'

"Since that date wages had slightly increased. Supplies, owing to the opening of the railway and greater facilities of communication had become cheaper, so that it was but a fair representation to say now that

the cooly could at any time save four, five, or seven rupees per month. And this was the man for whom Government would compel planters to provide medical aid at their own expense! But, as he had already stated, they did not object to the expense. The subject had been referred during the last three weeks to the planters in every district. Twenty meetings had been convened—some were ill and some were well attended. Of these twenty meetings seventeen passed resolutions in favour of making their own arrangements. But it had been said: "You are too late. You should have done this before." There was no doubt there had been a want of unanimity in the matter, a want of unanimity that could not be got over, till a measure should be passed to compel the minority to go with the majority, and he would undertake to say that if such a measure was passed and the matter in this stage were left to them, that aid would be provided in a short time in the greater part of the districts. He would not object to Government retaining the power—though he believed it would be contrary to principle—of making those districts provide medical aid which had done nothing at all."

His closing words were :—

"It was all very well for the hon. the Colonial Secretary, in introducing the bill to say the planters measured out medicine to the coolies by rule of thumb on the end of a paper knife : it was something, to be commended that they gave them medicine at all. The Bishop of Peterborough had recently said in the House of Lords he would rather see Englishmen free than sober. For his (Mr. Leake's) own part he would sooner see the Malabar cooly in Ceylon free than taking physic."

A planter-merchant, who occupied the mercantile seat, showed that the death-rate amongst the coolies was lower than in England,—*ergo*, nothing, therefore, need be done for them. A third unofficial member (Mr. Wilson) thought the bill a most objectionable one. "The coolies," he said, "and for that matter all natives, are quite capable of taking care of themselves. Indeed, they often have the advantage of the European. They know their own rights as well as any European in the island," and so on, winding up with the advice to Government to study the 3rd and 4th verses of the 7th chapter of Matthew, and to see that its own pioneers were kept healthy and well-tended in sickness before it interfered with the servants of others. Sir (then Mr.) Coomara Swamy, himself a Tamil, supported the bill, but spoke damagingly of the Government proposals, and said, respecting the difficulty of dealing with the people :—

"The superstition of the natives is also in their way of benefiting from European medicine. He would relate an instance within his own knowledge. A Hindu gentleman of great respectability in Colombo was once seized with cholera. The day happened to be one of his fasting days. He refused to take any medicine during the day, and brought himself to the point of death. A deception had to be practised on him. The doors were shut, lights introduced and the hands of the clock turned past six in the evening. He then took medicine and he was cured. But it was almost a miraculous cure and the patient attributed his recovery to his having adhered strictly to the rules of his faith. All this showed how much of the success of this measure depends on the kind of men selected for doctors. They should be men who know the caprices and weak points of the coolies and who would

gain their ascendancy over them by persuasion and kindness. Strange faces would simply frighten them yet more, and confirm them in their silly prejudices."

The Auditor-General (Mr. Douglas), who had had experience in Mauritius, agreed from that experience that the planters should not nominate the doctors, but that the appointment of officers should be in the hands of Government. As to the coolies not making use of the district hospitals, what he had seen as a Poor Law Commissioner in Ireland, and, later, as an official in Mauritius, convinced him that this difficulty would soon be removed, and that they would have to guard against a too free use of the institution. The Colonial Secretary (who had formerly been in Jamaica, and is now Governor of the Windward Islands) wound up the debate, and the ordinance passed the second reading by a majority of eight.*

No further opposition was offered, and the bill passed through the several stages, received Her Majesty's sanction, and soon afterwards was put into operation. It has been working nearly three years, and, all things considered, has been a success. English doctors, with native dispensers and assistants, are in every district, and instead of palatial hospitals at a central station, perhaps a score of miles away, each estate, or two estates combined, have erected a two-roomed or three-roomed cottage hospital, as much as possible like the "lincs" in which the coolies live. Here, under certain regulations, patients can be visited and attended by their friends. Seventeen committees have been formed to work the ordinance. Amongst the rules agreed upon are the following :—

"That each estate shall provide a book in which the medical officer shall (in the absence of the superintendent) register his visits to the estate, and treatment required by any sick coolies he may have seen. This book must be kept in an accessible place. Unless these rules be attended to no complaint will be entertained by the committee against either the superintendent or medical officer."

"That the medical officer be requested to visit each estate in his district once in each month, and oftener, if necessary.

"That the medical officer shall attend all native immigrants, paid servants, and superintendents of estates, free of any extra charge for his professional advice: in those cases where there are European families, private practice be allowed within the district only."

Returns have not yet been furnished to Government in sufficient number to show the statistical effect of all the care bestowed; but there can be no question as to the increasing amenability of the Malabar to European treatment, and the growing popularity of Ceylon as a field of labour. Prior to the passing of this ordinance each superintendent had a medicine chest, and

doctored the sick himself, often after a "happy-go-lucky" fashion. Quinine was the great "stand-by," and if it cured in only half the cases in which it was applied, the Tamil cooly ought to venerate the memory of the Countess of Chinchon (wife of a Viceroy of Peru,) who discovered the wonderful properties of the bark of *C. Calisaya* or *C. Succirubra*, as much as Mr. Clements Markham evidently does, and he, in his turn, ought to send one or two copies of his expensive book on this subject to be worshipped as *Swamies* (gods) by the people. The writer was much amused, on more than one occasion, while staying with a planter-friend in the vale of Dumbera, while accompanying him to the various groups of "lines," after the coolies had been mustered, told off in gangs, and sent to their work. The object of the "round," which was made daily, was to see what was the matter with the labourers who were not at muster, and to doctor them if they were ill. The proprietor in question had about eight hundred coolies in his employ, some of whom had been thirty years with him, and their children had grown up under his rule. Consequently his relations with the people were freer, and on a more confidential, patriarchal footing than is usual on estates. Followed by a cooly with a box of medicines he would sally forth, and, at the time he was expected, the sick would be found in all attitudes, outside their dwellings. The preliminary to treatment was for the sick man or woman to show the tongue, then various punches about the region of the chest and lower ribs would be made—(a dangerous procedure it seemed to the looker-on, considering the proneness to disease of the spleen which all Hindus display); finally, inspection over, a strong dose of quinine, dissolved by a strong solvent, would be put into a wine-glass, the patient made to tilt his or her head back to a fearful angle, and the contents poured down the open mouth. The same glass sufficed for fifty sick people. Often, it happened, that what was wanted by the sick cooly was what is, known amongst poor people in England as "kitchen medicine," and the sight in that planter's breakfast room, when the meal was over, was curious and amusing, even if not altogether edifying. What has been thus described is a relic of old days, as much of a rarity nearly as flint weapons or lacustrine dwellings, the new sweeping, all-embracing medical rules doing away with the necessity for paternal medical treatment of his coolies by the planter; and, soon, life on the coffee-plantations of Ceylon, will be as stereotyped as that in an ordinary street or square in any town in England. The regular demands for road maintenance, cooly medical aid, and similar things taking the place of income-tax, water, police, and lighting rates, with which the English burgess or citizen is familiar. Civilisation and the tax-gatherer are inseparable. If

the state of things detailed, and the medical treatment of the cooly under this circumstances are justifiable, then the statement at the heading of the second section of this paper is borne out, *viz.*, that, in some cases, the legislation of the Government in behalf of immigrants has been of a beneficial character.

III

"**RAMASAMI**," * (generic name by which the cooly is known) is not slow to admit that he has much to congratulate himself upon in having so favoured a land as Ceylon in which to labour. His hours of toil hardly ever exceed ten per diem, and, as a rule, he does not average more than twenty days' work out of the month. He receives rice from his employer at a certain rate the year through, however prices may fluctuate; if the market rate has been lower than that at which he is supplied the balance is made up to him; if, as is more frequently the case, the planter suffers loss on the transaction, not a cent of this does Ramasami pay.† According to the notions of his class, indeed in the true acceptance of the term, he can become wealthy. Barely six months prior to the time of writing one of the Princes of Travancore delivered a lecture to a literary institution composed of Hindus on a topic very much akin to "self-help," and the example he set before his hearers as most worthy of imitation, was that of a cooly from Travancore who emigrated to Ceylon, was careful with the money he earned, and now (but a few years after proceeding to Ceylon), ranked amongst the prosperous proprietors of estates in the Travancore coffee regions. In the planting districts of Ceylon the Malabars rise to position of trust as conductors of estates, while the capabilities of the race are evidenced in the remarkable career of Sir T. Madhava Rao, the present Prime Minister of Baroda, who commenced life as a clerk in Madras

* A proper name; *Rama* is well-known to students of Hindu Mythology, as being the hero of the epic poem, "*Ramayana*." *Sami*, "god or lord." Literally the name means the Lord Rama.

† Matters have changed somewhat in this respect now, and the high prices of rice ranging in the "fall" of 1876 and the early part of 1877 were, by the great majority of planters, made to fall on the coolies. A curious delusion exists with regard to this practice amongst planters. Because there has been occasionally a small loss it has been claimed that, in bearing this loss, planters have to

pay the equivalent of a land-tax. No reasoning could be more absurd. First, it has to be proved that the planter pays the import tax on rice, which the present writer has never seen established, though he has often heard it asserted, with more or less heat, generally more. Secondly, if a burden at all to the planter, it ought, in common fairness to be charged to the wages' fund, and not put on the land. The present system of imported rice being taxed instead of land is very burdensome to the poorer people, but this is not the place to deal with that question.

on Rs. 20 a month. In Ceylon this race has for its head Sir Coomara Swamy, favourably known in cultured circles in Europe as the translator and annotator of a popular Hindu play, which, with permission, was dedicated to the Queen, "Discourses of Buddha," the Dathavansa, and other works, and who is the Tamil representative in the Legislative Council, whilst a large proportion of the leading members of the Ceylon Bar are of this race. The Indian cooly in Ceylon becomes a very independent being, by no means disposed to submit to what he may think is injustice because the *durai* (master) has commanded it. A traveller in Java, who had had much experience in the coffee districts of Ceylon, describes the great astonishment he felt in noticing the difference between the cringing apathetic manner in which the Javanese labourer received his pay on settling-day, and the bold independent manner in which Ramasami turns over the rupees he has received, counting them two or three times over, and if he is not satisfied, arguing the point with his master. Most amusing stories are told of the independence thus shown by both men and women. Two years ago a scheme was broached, and heartily taken up, for the purpose of establishing schools, on the estates for the coolies. The propounder of the scheme was the Rev. R. Abbay, a member of the eclipse expedition of 1871, who subsequently accepted the post of episcopal chaplain in one of the coffee districts. Schools have been established on all sides, the parents of the children attending being called upon to contribute according to their means to the support of the teacher, books and building being provided by the estate. The Tamil Cooly Mission has been at work for nearly twenty years, specially devoted to the welfare of Ramasami and Carpie and their little ones.* A great annual sacrifice is made year by year by the local exchequer in behalf of the immigrants, which may be stated roughly as follows:—

Expenditure on the North Road and at the Ports of Arrival...	£10,000
For Medical Aid (about)	„ 35,000
Loss, through labourers being exempted from contributing to Road up-keep, &c., (about)	„ 40,000
<hr/>	
Total	£85,000

England made a great sacrifice when it paid £20,000,000 to free the West Indian slaves: the little Crown Colony of Ceylon, besides (in 1818 to 1844) freeing its slaves without a penny of

* It was in connection with this open rupture between Bishop Copleston and the whole of the episcopal Mission that the ecclesiastical diffidy in Ceylon, which led to an Mission Clergy, occurred.

compensation, is deserving well of the Empire for the manner in which it is striving to do its duty to the poor inhabitants of Southern India, who find in its borders, easy work and good pay, with a climate in which to labour not very different from their own, and where different, vastly superior. But the advantage to India of such a neighbour does not end here. The coolies return to their own land, some having journeyed a thousand miles or more (a great thing in itself for a Hindu), and carry with them, to diffuse in the villages, all the culture they have obtained from settled, organised labour and intercourse with a higher civilisation. It is not too much to say, that they are thereby leavening the people of Southern India with ideas and influences that, less than a generation hence, will bear fruit, which will probably display itself in a demand for being ruled after a different fashion than that now in vogue, and with an appreciable native element amongst the ruling caste. Such an ordinary commercial matter as the labour supply of the coffee estates of Ceylon is destined, undesignedly, to make that island of great use to India, in a manner and to an extent scarcely conceived. Milton happily conjoined the continent and the island when he wrote of

“India's utmost isle, Taprobane.”

“Happy” conjunction, because the comparatively small population of Ceylon renders it the fittest scene for the experiment that must be made by the British in the East, *viz.*, the marriage of European freedom and energy with Asiatic philosophy and inertia. How this is being done cannot be detailed here; assuredly it is being attempted, and results are already being achieved which will warrant larger experiments elsewhere,—if only Downing-street officials do not interfere too much. If the Sinhalese, and Tamils resident in Ceylon, can be made as active, energetic, and law-abiding as Britons, there is no race in India which may not become a self-governing, self-restraining, or self-stimulating people, as the special requirement may be most needed. The Buddhist faith, with its Nibbana (Nirwana) of annihilation and its indolent non-proselytising priests, had made of the Sinhalese a slothful people, a most feeble nation. Contact with the British, however, has so put them on their mettle that in keenness of intellect, in acquisitiveness, and in many other respects they are little inferior to the “superior” race. The leaven is working; through the coolies in Southern India it is from the foundations of the social fabric. The process may be slow, but it is likely to be the more stable. And in this respect, as in so much else that is undesigned and (so-called) accidental in this world,—so-called accidental because the laws which rule action of every

kind have not yet been discovered—it may be fairly claimed that the emigration of coolies from Southern India to Ceylon plantations has been of the nature of the mercy which Shakspeare describes as being doubly blessed, “blessing him that gives and him that takes.”

WM. DIGBY.

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ART. III.—SIX YEARS OF PUNJAB RULE.

Punjab Administration Reports, 1871-1876.

THE Punjab Administration Report for 1875-76 will not suffer, probably by comparison with similar productions of other provinces. It is concise without being abrupt, and interesting without prolixity; not omitting any topic of importance, it nevertheless avoids as a rule the defect of sketchiness. On some matters indeed treated of, we could have wished for fuller discussion, or at the least, fuller information; but this perhaps is a good fault, as while brief, the report does not incur the Horatian reproach of being obscure. The Lieutenant-Governor's opinions on most matters of administration are here given clearly and decisively, in language which is in general happy, almost epigrammatic. This we had a right to expect from the known facility of Mr. Griffin's pen. The peculiar difficulty of writing a good report, that of saying much in few words, seems to be in his hands a peculiar facility; not merely here and there, but throughout the report there are expressions, and turns of sentences, which, when once read, remain in the memory of themselves, as specially appropriate word-settings of the ideas they represent. Yet Pegasus has not always been curbed; the spirit of antithesis has possessed the able Secretary so thoroughly, as once or twice to carry him beyond the bounds of accurate and moderate expression—as we may note further on.

Being a kind of valediction on the part of Sir Henry Davies, the report naturally takes something of the character of a general review of his administration. Though this proceeding may cause us to hear the same thoughts, and in places to read the same words as already have been given in past years, there seems no reason to complain; a general view of an administrator's work, when it can be had as embracing a period of years, is more satisfactory as being more complete than the very partial glimpse possible in the report of any single year. And that ruler is happy who in these days of progress, or at least shifting of mental stand-points, can refer with confidence to former official utterances as still true—true under the fresh light of altered circumstances and longer experience. That the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has been able to do so, is of itself no inconsiderable vindication of his policy and government. In this general retrospect of the affairs of the frontier province from 1871-76, we purpose to accompany him, or speaking more appropriately, to follow him at a respectful distance caused by our consciousness

of inferior ability, of information less familiar, of knowledge less extended.

Taking the order adopted in the report we first come on the political relations with dependent States. These States from their position have, many of them, an intimate and important connection with the internal administration of the province; a connection, or perhaps more accurately, a want of connection, which in many small matters impedes the administration of justice. It is true that in all the States a greater or less degree of assimilation to our procedure has been obtained; but this is very far from being so effective as it might be, were greater stress laid on the point. Let us not be misunderstood: we are not by any means advocating that the procedure of native courts under a native government be made similar to ours in all things—our modes of suing, pleading, appealing, are only in a very small degree applicable to, and appropriate for, the subjects of a government which is, save as regards its allegiance in political matters to the British Crown, irresponsible. But in the very important matters of run of civil process, and criminal warrant, more remains to be attained. Fully one-half the number of districts in the province have on one or more of their sides a native state. Cattle-thieves, abductors of wives, fraudulent debtors, find it easy, and very much to their advantage, to escape over the border, for only in certain cases is their surrender provided for. No improvement can, we think, be deemed satisfactory until the English writ shall run throughout the length and breadth of the province, with equal regularity, force, and despatch. There is nothing ignominious or humiliating in this for a native ruler, and it might be held out to him as a premium for increased efforts and vigilance in securing purity and regularity of administration, that his writs should in like manner be endorsed and served by our own officers.

The importance of the subject is not to be estimated by taking any single case. It is the aggregate of cases causing in numerous instances the defeat of just claims, and the failure of justice, that must be looked at. The foot of the mythic goddess is as leaden in India as elsewhere, and we handicap her more heavily still by putting on her additional weight—a needless one.

The Lieutenant-Governor apparently regards with satisfaction the administration of the native States during the last few years. He writes "that the wholesome influence of English example has generally raised the standard of administration among the native principalities." This no doubt is true—some things done formerly would not be tolerated now-a-days—the force of public opinion bears to some degree even on a Raja; but it is to be feared that though "much is done still more remains to do" in the matter. To any one, even slightly acquainted with the internal affairs of

the dependent States, a mournfully long list will come to remembrance of family feuds, of State and zenana intrigue, of drunkenness, of profligacy, and even of alleged barbaric cruelty.

The two States which have exhibited the most marked improvement of late are Bahawalpur and Chamba, both under English officers. Of these Bahawalpur perhaps exhibits the more showy progress, but in Chamba the benefits accruing to the State and people alike, are none the less solid and real. We doubt, indeed, whether, when the government comes again into native hands, Chamba will not exhibit a more equable continuity, or at least, better piece-work of administration than its larger rival. The Secretary of State, sometime ago, expressed a fear lest when the English administration of the State of Bahawalpur ceased, there might be a collapse. This, it need hardly be said, would be an evil not easily repaired, and though the officers who have been in charge are reputedly vigorous and able, yet this very vigour and ability might prove a snare. To indulge in something of a paradox we might put it that no British Resident or Regent should be deputed to a native State, unless he belongs to the conservative party in politics. As an Englishman he will certainly do enough in the way of progress, as a conservative he will not introduce unsympathetic reforms that, when the guiding hand is withdrawn, cannot be permanent. These remarks are, of course, impersonal; the Lieutenant-Governor has himself pointedly denied the existence of any occasion for fear of such a collapse at Bahawalpur as that mentioned, and he is not in the habit of speaking without book.

The young prince of Bahawalpur is described as a hearty, manly lad, and the little Rájá of Chamba, if not quite so robust, is pleasant-mannered and free from affectation. The education of each is conducted by a tutor under the superintendence of the Resident or Superintendent. Government probably appreciate the fact that all hopes of improving native governments must begin and radiate from the central idea of giving good education to the future governors. In this matter we heartily wish the idea of the late Lord Mayo could be carried out thoroughly, in all provinces of the empire, that all rájás and princes should, as boys, attend colleges, instead of being educated singly. The latter system is open to the evident objection of flattering the *amour propre* of the pupil, but this positive injury is hardly so considerable as the negative one of depriving the boy of all chance of learning the lesson, as noble as it is necessary, to give and take, bear and forbear. The objects of the plan we advocate, were meant no doubt to be met partially, if not wholly, by the Government Wards' school at Ambála, but on many grounds it would seem better to have, as was proposed some little time ago, a school for

young nobles either in the hills or (as at Madhopur) so near their base as to invite the residence of the children of the hill rājās.

The next topic discussed in the report is the burning question of frontier policy. On this point the dictum of Dr. Johnson comes to mind, that he who pursues his investigations beyond the reach of possible information is outside the pale of criticism. Under the present circumstances of public knowledge (and we pretend to no other) concerning matters on the other side of the frontier, there are probably but some twenty persons in India who are competent to criticise the policy with which the Lieutenant-Governor has identified himself. True it is, we know the movements of our officials, the tone of feeling among our zemindars on this side of the line; but what is going on beyond that line; what is the state of hope or fear among those restless masses of savage plunderers; how far, in short, the system of blockade is doing its work this cannot be decisively known as yet. Raids and robberies in the pale of British territory will always be exaggerated, because they are comparatively rare; and a burst of impulsive lawlessness should not be allowed too much weight. We repeat that there are but few men competent to criticise the Government frontier policy, and feeling our own incompetence, we leave these Eleusinian stories unattempted, unexplored; noting, (as a suggestion for those who care to profit by it) the special appropriateness at this time of the homely proverb 'the less said, the sooner mended.'

We come now to much more debateable ground, yet ground which, we think, will be generally admitted as the strongest of all the positions occupied by Sir Henry Davies as a ruler of the Punjab, *viz.*, his revenue policy and administration.* Glancing down the list of the commission, with the doubtful exception of the Financial Commissioner, Mr. Egerton, we could hardly name an officer whose personal opinion and authority in such matters, apart from his official position, would carry with it more weight than that of the Lieutenant-Governor himself. As a settlement officer in the Punjab his work stood the test of experience well: it was not less popular, though it was stricter than the assessment, unduly light, as we think, of his successor on partly the same ground. After an experience matured in another province, Sir Henry Davies returned to the Punjab, to find an impulse current, if not prevalent among fiscal officers in favour of light assessments, as the expression of an enlightened and prudent liberality on the part of a beneficent Government, toward a people recently come under English rule, and but half accustomed to the inelastic regularity of cash collections. As a repudiation of the error of earlier

* This article it should be remembered was written in February last.

Punjab days when the plunder of over-assessment was committed in more than one district, this rebound was not discreditable to the intellectual sagacity, as it was certainly creditable to the moral sympathies, of those who encouraged it. Yet, in the subsequent history of Punjab settlements, there has been but too conspicuous evidence of the danger of excessive re-action. That the Lieutenant-Governor thinks so is well known both from his personal utterances, and from the official expression of his opinions. In his first yearly review of the administration of the province we find :—

"The Lieutenant-Governor while acknowledging the ability and industry with which settlement officers in the Punjab have carried on their duties, has yet been compelled to refuse sanction to the assessments for a longer period than ten years in most of the districts, the settlements of which have come before him for sanction in the past year. He is convinced that the assessments have generally been framed on too liberal a scale, on data the correctness of which is open to more than doubt, and that the Government has not been permitted to receive its fair share in the general prosperity of the country."

The case principally referred to was that of the revised settlements in the Amritsar Division, superintended by Mr. E. A. Prinsep. The ingenious ability of this gentleman is well known, and we have neither space nor inclination to enter into the well-worn controversy as to the data and principles governing his assessment. But the following figures showing the decrease in the Government claim at the revised settlement will explain the Lieutenant-Governor's remarks :—

<i>District.</i>	<i>Cause.</i>	<i>Increase.</i>	<i>Decrease</i>
		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
AMRITSAR.	{ Reduced settlement demand	... ..	45,159.
	{ Water advantage rate	... 64,713	
	{ Progressive <i>jamas</i> ...	... 11,603	
SEALKOT	{ Reduced settlement demand	... ..	25,452
	{ Progressive <i>jamas</i> ...	... 12,651	
	{ Reduced settlement demand	... ..	88,170
GURDASPUR.	{ Water advantage rate	... 23,994	
	{ Progressive <i>jamas</i> ...	... 6,550	
		1,19,511	1,58,771

There appears, then, a net decrease in the settlement of the division of Rs. 39,260. And when it is remembered that the tract of country is the most populous in the Punjab, and that in two of the districts, besides the common increase of prosperity and cultivation, there had been the special advantage of the development of the Bari Doab Canal, it will be admitted that the settlement officer who should ask the Government to consent to take an

annual share less by Rs. 40,000 than its former one, should be able to make out a very strong case. Whether such case has been made out, will probably never be officially determined; the decision of the Government of India to give effect to the re-settlement for 20 years instead of 10, as sanctioned by the local Government, proceeded on another ground, irrelevant to the merits. An informal promise it was said had been given by a previous Lieutenant-Governor to confirm the assessment, and the good faith of the Government was pledged to maintain that promise. Besides which, the extraordinary delay made in submitting the settlement report rendered any change still more difficult. So the term was prolonged, the Government pocketed the loss, and the zemindars have one less grievance to complain of. They make up for it, however, by increased affection for their remaining stock, in which, first and foremost, is the cry against the water advantage rate. This some time ago used to be so well known and recognised that the poetical talent of the country side embodied it in a not unmusical lament or dirge, sung in the bazar, at *nautches*, and other assemblies, called the "Acre song" the refrain being "we are ill with the acre-disease." The disease probably by this time has died a natural death, as the district officers wisely left it alone, without any stimulus persecution. But to return to the subject of the general assessment. It was almost impossible that contrary views on such an important matter of fiscal policy, expressed by earnest men, convinced of the sufficiency of the data on which such views were founded, should be conveyed without some degree of acerbity, perhaps of personal bitterness. To those who witnessed it, a personal encounter between advocates of the two schools as they may be called, was not without interest. On the one side were ingenuity, boldness in attack and a vehemence and emphasis of expression, exposing (perhaps unfairly) the speaker to the charge of carelessness as to facts. On the other side, a quieter front, a more slowly-moving mind, a more solid judgment and moderate expression. To many the victory here would not seem to belong to the swift.

But there is no need to dwell on such differences. True, a more difficult task has been made for the officer superintending the next settlements, whoever he may be, it will be doubly hard for the Government to win back its own. But no good can be done by talking about this; and, although there are in the report one or two traces of remembrance of the controversy, there is also a graceful notice of one of Mr. Prinsep's many ingenious and thoughtful expedients which may be taken as setting the seal to a chapter of revenue history, which has not been dishonourable to either of the parties who supplied its facts.

Closely connected with the settlement policy is the land and revenue legislation of the province. The land revenue is so em-

phatically the back-bone of the whole frame of the income of the State, and so nearly affects the welfare of its subjects in India, that any measures determining or modifying the limits of landed interests, their acquisition and relinquishment, or the procedure of Government in dealing with such interests, must be of literally vital importance. Here again the present administration bears marks of progress and improvement which cannot be denied. The report is right in saying that when the Lieutenant-Governor assumed office the law relating to the administration of the land was in an extremely indefinite state. A mere glance at the list of Acts passed since then will show how matters are changed; and in such change, a large share of credit must always attach to the local Government, by whose solicitation, or at least advice, the simplification and determination of the law have been brought about. The Land Revenue Act, the Local Rates Act, and the Punjab Laws Act, mark an epoch which began, indeed, somewhat before Sir Henry Davies assumed office; but which came to its full development under his administration: an epoch of codification, which is of itself a significant token of the progress of the country. The earliest and not least important of the local Acts was the Tenancy Act of 1868, which excited so many hopes and so many fears. The report says of this measure:—

“The opinion that it works, on the whole, well has more than once been expressed, but some proposals for its amendment in a few matters of detail not affecting its general principle have recently been submitted to the Government of India.”

As eight years have passed away since the Act came into force, the gauge of its practical power is well known, and the opinion, above noted, is justified by the facts. But among the proposals for amendment it would be interesting to know whether any mention has been made of the necessity of determining more definitely the circumstances judicially to be held as constituting an abandonment of right. It is no secret that local judicial authorities are at variance on the subject. It has been held at one time that an abandonment for even so short a time as one year, voids the right, at another, that the full period of twelve years should elapse before the right is extinguished; and yet again on a third occasion, that no definite period within the usual period of limitation can be fixed for the loss of the property and interest, as what is mainly to be looked to, is the intention of the tenant. Such a point as this can hardly be looked on as one of detail, nay, in logical degree, it is of equal importance with the subject of acquisition or ascertainment of the right. And, as time passes on it is evident that the importance of acquisition will relatively diminish, while that of relinquishment must proportionally increase. There are in fact two ways of determining the period

of limitation for abandonment : leading from two different mental starting points. The one looking at the hereditary occupant as in reality a sub-proprietor must treat his right as equally difficult to take away with that of the so-called proprietor. It is the same in kind, only inferior in degree to the latter. The second view regards the right of occupancy as a kind of excrescence, quasi-morbid in character, on the fair trunk of proprietorship; not as a thing of the same kind, it may sometimes usurp the whole of the usufruct, indeed, but never attain to the dignity of the dominion. An important practical illustration of the difference here indicated is found in the diverse customs prevalent in the province as to the right of tenants whose land has been submerged, or carried away, by river-action, and which is subsequently thrown up, or left dry, and is then re-occupied by the proprietors. In some parts the right of the tenant revives, in others it does not, being considered to have been lost simultaneously with the disappearance of the soil beneath the capricious attacks of the water. The fact shows the uncertain light in which the natives themselves regard the tenure ; but this, if anything, only increases the importance of making the law more certain, and as we think it should be, more uniform. But we must pass on.

The Land Acquisition Act, X. of 1870 : the Cattle Trespass Act I. of 1871 : the Local Rates Act XX. of 1871 : the Land Improvement Act XXVI. of 1871 and the Land Revenue Act, XXXIII of 1871 each and all deal with subjects, on each of which much might be said. True they are all more or less based on previous law, or rules having the force of law, but the clear crystallisation of their legal forms ; the very elaborateness of their procedure ; all points of detail minutely enumerated, mark in their several degrees the change of the Punjab from a Non-Regulation to a Regulation Province—or, if we might dare to give exactitude to a loosely current popular expression—the transformation of patriarchal government into what may not inaptly be termed, social government. Here we touch on another burning question ; it is, if a little consideration be taken, the most nearly universal problem of public and social discussion. Take up any newspaper ; look at the adjectives which the writer prefixes to the nouns, describing acts of public officials ; the adverbs qualifying the verbs, and you will at once see whether he is a patriarchalist or a socialist. The difference, though illustrated by every incident of temporary interest ; every Meares, or Fuller case finds its root, its cause in a radical difference of mental constitution. Most Liberals, as we fantastically call them at home, would be socialists (we are using the word strictly in the temporary meaning we gave it above) ; most Conservatives would be patriarchalists ; but this is as near a generalisation as we may attain. The social and political

divisions will last as long as the world lasts, and will give any one that cares to think about the matter, a good subject for reflection. But the practical outcome is, or should be, this. The canons and principles prevalent in present Indian administration are a necessary or, speaking less invidiously, an inevitable evolution from the social and philosophical principles prevalent in England; it was impossible that with England as it is, India should remain as it was. Whether we should have wished it so soon or not, this state of things has come upon us in the apparently regular succession and development of social phenomena. And thus, instead of lamenting the changed conditions of administration, it is the duty of all, each in his sphere, to meet them and shape them as best may be. It is a saying, wise as it is manifold, that we cannot make our circumstances, we can but use them.

As already said, each of these acts would be an interesting text for comment, but want of space prevents us from making remark on more than one—the Local Rates Act. The ruling principle of the measure is, as every body knows, that of providing for local wants by local taxation. The justice of this forming as it did a new impost over and above the regular Government demand, was much canvassed, and some probably still think that injustice was done; but these people, we fancy, have a logic of their own, and are impregnable behind the bulwarks which it affords them. It may safely be said, at least in the Punjab, that the people have learnt to acquiesce in the expediency of the rate if they do not assent to its justice. Important as was the work, popularly ascribed to Sir William Muir, in starting the idea, and organising the procedure and constitution of municipal committees; the work of organising and providing rules for the district committees of local rates, we look on as considerably more important. Towns are pretty sure to advance in social education; the country districts are in much greater need of a fostering hand, of firm yet conciliatory, liberal yet patient guidance to lead them forward and upward. The zemindars in many parts of the Punjab call themselves cattle (*dangar lög*), and truly for all that man's distinguishing characteristic, reason, appears in their daily life and habits,—the name is severely ironical. To take even the best of these, and educate them not with mere book knowledge, but to act as intelligent and thoughtful councillors as to the best way of spending large sums of money,—to show

‘The reason firm and temperate will,—

this indeed is a work which, if well done, surely must tell more on social progress than any, without exception, of the many schemes now in vogue for adult education and enlightenment, and which to do well, must task all the powers of administrators of

even more than average ability. Under such conditions it is encouraging to find tokens of success, even though that success be but partial.

Sir Henry Davies was able to say nearly three years ago, that though "in not a few instances, district officers complain of apathy and indifference in many districts, the committees give promise of being most useful and popular institutions." If we might pry a little into the secrets of official papers, it would perhaps be found that the tone and conduct of the committee members depend very greatly on those of the president; there is no doubt that the latter office requires a difficult combination of not very common qualities. But that there has been solid progress; that a very considerable leaven of enlightening ideas has fallen on the minds of a great number of the more intelligent class of zemindars; that, in one word, another means of drawing nearer to the native has been herein found, no one can doubt, and that such has been the case is in no slight degree due to the simple yet comprehensive and liberal rules drawn up by the Punjab Government for the procedure of the committees.

From adult education let us turn to that of minors, rightly considered so important as to have gained the name of education *par excellence*. Here again we think rural districts demand more attention than the towns from the administrator. And we would further note that the problem of education now in India is not whether it is good or not. This has already been settled; whether rightly or not, we cannot undo what we have done. We have started a huge machine which we cannot stop; our aim must be to hasten it, at the same time that we guide it. A casual traveller through the ordinary Punjab district would, if he understood the language, hardly fail to discern this. Numbers of the people have new ideas; they begin to think, and it is such a beginning that once made must go on to the end; sweet or bitter according to the wisdom of the rulers of the land. We are in a state of mental transition, and such transition is always dangerous; like a skater hurrying over a piece of unsound ice, to a stronger piece beyond, so is the Englishman in India. We have begun to educate the people; education means consciousness of power; our aim must be to give the masses at the same time that they attain such power, the further consciousness that we reign in India for their good; otherwise our reign here is already, slowly but surely, drawing to its end. All this is really trite enough, but there are signs abroad in high places of its being occasionally forgotten.

Bringing the question nearer to our present subject, we would ask whether this consciousness of the superior beneficence of our Government is spreading as education is spreading in the Punjab. To answer this many data are required, and they are of such a

character that their trustworthiness may seem arbitrary. One of them would doubtless be the tone and opinion of the native press; but at the outset we find this doubtful and difficult to be ascertained. Probably the soundest conclusion would be that, though the native journalists make many an outcry, and talk of many a grievance under our administration, yet very few really think a native government half as good. It is pretty certain that for them, in particular it would not be half as tolerant. The human mind in a certain stage of development has a greater propensity to blame than to praise, and this is the mental phase at present of most of our native contemporaries. In itself it is not important, as there is no reason to think that the best minds are represented in the native press, but it is undeniable that the influence exerted on the minds of those natives, who read the papers is prejudicial. The Punjab native press is probably not so bad as some journals of the same class down country, but remarks, and even longer articles and paragraphs appear in it which certainly would be tolerated by no government in the world save our own. What is wanted is a liberal but firm and vigorous censorship of the press exercised with a view to secure, not a servile adulation, it is true, but yet a loyal support of the Government on the broad lines of its administration, a support quite compatible with a manly independence and freedom in criticising matters of detail.

But there is a much more important factor in the answer to our question, that is, the influence of education as given in Government schools on the boys taught. And this answer is indicated, if not directly pronounced, in the following extract from the report:—

“With respect to the moral influence of our schools, the Lieutenant-Governor has on former occasions remarked that the too frequent result of an English education is seen in the deterioration of manners, which in natives of any position, trained under their own system, are exceedingly good. To teach modesty, politeness and respect for superiors is a very important part of the training of boys; and this is too much neglected in our schools. ‘Education,’ it has been well said, ‘is not and cannot be, a thing of vocables. It is a thing of earnest facts, of capabilities developed, of habits established, of dispositions dealt with, of tendencies confirmed and tendencies repressed.’ Instruction should go hand in hand with discipline; morality should be taught as well as grammar; and if boys do not leave school more honest, truthful and industrious than they entered it, their education has been a failure, even though they should be able to say in what metre *L’Allegro* is written and explain the meaning of the obsolete words in Chaucer’s poems.”

It may be noted in passing (as was remarked to us by an educational officer high in his department), that in the Punjab at least

the absurdity suggested in the last sentence is generally wanting. It is not the aim of the system to give a minute knowledge of antiquated or obsolescent English. But leaving out such a comparatively small item of results to be striven after, what strikes the reader is the sanguine nature of the writer. The boy must become modest, polite, respectful, honest, truthful, industrious, and what are the means used to make him so? For some years he reads primers, and the immortal *Gulistan* and *Bostan*, expurgated so far as they may be of their most abominable expressions. Then he comes to English readers, good in their way, but for understanding which he has a very inadequate mental apparatus. His teachers too, except where he comes into contact with English gentlemen, necessarily few in comparison with the native teachers, are lamentably deficient in the requisite mental imagery. We do not wish to make invidious comments on any work, honestly begun, and earnestly carried on, but instances of this will occur to any one who has visited an ordinary English school in the province. It is perhaps desirable always to have a high ideal for

That which we long for, that *we are*
 For one transcendent moment,
 Before the Present, poor and bare,
 Can make its sneering comment.

Yet there are bounds even to the human imagination, and Sir Henry Davies has never been suspected hitherto of wishing to enlarge them, so that the paragraph must be left with the remark, that, admirable as it is in its morality to be attained, it is also admirable (in a sense forbidden to be understood by a Punjab school boy) in its expectation of attaining such morality by the means at present employed. How those means might be modified, improved, enlarged, is too large a subject for incorporation here, but to which we may perhaps recur on a future occasion. Meanwhile let us note a fact which is perhaps known, but cannot, to judge from appearances, be duly appreciated. The school education of the Punjab is as yet, in the main, but a class education. Our pupils are mainly Hindus, and among Hindus only of a few castes. Such a thing speaks for itself in a province where Muhammadans form a numerical majority in the population. But there is an addition to be made to this. The class education is in the main paid for by those who do not receive it. The Hindu *banya's* boy goes to school at the expense, generally speaking, of the Muhammadan zemindar. In a contest where wit, hereditary custom, and tribal acuteness are all on one side, we throw the weight of the assistance of school learning, very considerable when morality is not a desideratum, on that side. To say that this is the fault of the

zemindar is easy, but hardly satisfactory. It rather reflects distrust on the principles governing the application of the money paid rightly enough by the zemindar. There are signs, especially among the more intelligent district committees, that this mis-application is becoming more recognised, and depreciated. Under these circumstances we may soon hope for remedial action.

There are many other subjects we should like to touch on. In an administration such as is recorded in the present report, especially at the present period of Punjab history, matters of interest are very numerous, but they are not to be dealt within narrow limits. Let us take one only, specially important in itself, and by mental association nearly connected with the topic we have just been discussing. Every enlightened ruler must have a pronounced opinion on the principles governing the administration of his jails. It was the out-growth of the 'Christian consciousness' of many centuries that developed a Howard, it is true; but when the hour and the man came, no subsequent retrogression was possible in the country that claims the first rank in human progress. The mental law of ebb and tide has indeed been conspicuous at times in the history of our prisons, but no one doubts that, on the whole, progress has been made. In the Punjab we find the physical side of this progress developed and elaborated to an extent which leaves little to be desired, save perhaps this, that it might not be quite so much thought of. While convicts have a claim on us to see that they are not wantonly killed by starvation, crowding, and epidemics that can be prevented, we do not admit that they should be better housed, clothed, and fed than the free population as a mass. Yet such is the case in the model province. It is sad work jesting on a fact so grimly hurtful in its consequences, but the story of convicts willing to be re-incarcerated is no fable.

It is of no use to speak of general principles if they are not carried into practice. The report, indeed, says with a facility of expression before characterised—

"The first aim of prison discipline is to be deterrent; that is to say, that it should be of so eminently disagreeable and severe a character as to make any person who had been once subjected to it, most unwilling to again find himself within the walls of a jail."

Do Punjab jails fulfil this, 'their first aim'? Notoriously and shamefully they do not. The deterrents most powerful on a native in use at present are those which are inseparable from any system of incarceration, *viz.*, physical detention, and temporary separation from his family and friends. Under the present jail system we know of none others authorised even if they are used. The physical discomfort of irons is tolerated but not

encouraged, it is allowed only as a means of preventing escape not of making discipline more severe. It sounds well doubtless to speak "of teaching moral practice to those who are inaccessible to moral theory by the positive institution of terrestrial rewards and punishments taking immediate and drastic effect! Our moral teaching is of the practical sort, and its sanctions are the whipping-block and the ticket-of-leave." (Whether the 'ticket-of-leave' can be called a 'sanction' in the accurate sense, in which we feel sure the writer would wish to use the word.) But, has the Lieutenant-Governor always practised what here as his valediction is preached—or does he mean herein to show that his opinion is modified as it has been matured? Are there not stray expressions in former reports inconsistent with the present definition of the 'first aim'? Has not whipping been in a desultory and intermittent kind of way discouraged? Have not recommendations been made to punish the common fault of convicts, idleness, with low diet rather than with the sterner, but at the same time more 'drastic' punishment of the whipping-block? Have not high averages of whipping been unfavourably commented on as showing, 'it is to be feared but too plainly, the mental idiosyncrasies of superintendents?' If this means that some men have a sterner idea of duty than others, it is true, but it is also trite. If it means anything else it is, we believe, false, and in its effect most noxious. Instead of calling for explanations of high averages, would it not have been more consistent with the 'teaching of moral practice' so ably set forth above, to set on foot enquiries wherever the Olympian glance on reviewing the jail administration of the province, fell on low ones? The truth is, that while remunerativeness of prison labour is nominally subordinated to its deterrence it has in practice been allowed to press it very hard. Perfect conservancy, excellent ventilation, healthy food, sleep, clothing, and employment—a very moderate amount of daily labour, and a very mild correction of offences against jail discipline, are at present the characteristics of Punjab jails—and for the faults of this *regime*, Sir Henry Davies is largely responsible, just as he enjoys the credit of vigorous superintendence of measures calculated to secure the superior physical well-being of the convict as compared with that of the freeman. A very material modification of the system is imperatively required.

But to pass on to another point of prison theory as here laid down. Next in importance to deterrence, is, as noted, remunerativeness. A long way off, as a very bad third, is the point that jail discipline should be reformatory. We presume that the reformation meant is mental, and not physical; the latter certainly goes on well under a system which sends out numbers of released convicts increased in weight by their incarceration—'fair pledges of a

fruitful tree'—The reason why mental reformation is of so little importance is clearly explained; "the jail population in India " is ordinarily divided into two classes of prisoners; those who " cannot be reformed and those who do not need reformation." Then follows the further elucidation that the latter class are "those who " perhaps in sudden passion, or from some irresistible temptation, " or pressing necessity, or in compliance with respected custom, as " in infanticide or theft, have committed one solitary offence " against person or property."

Does this mean that professional thieves of cattle or other property, thief only once? If not, the words refute themselves. Pegasus here has got free his wings, and whither does he take us?

"In Europe a pathological disorder has to be dealt with, " the corruptions inseparable from an advanced civilisation; " in India, remedies have to be applied to a physiological disturbance, the criminality which is spontaneous and inevitable in a " certain stage of social growth."

We quite believe, as was said once before the bench on a memorable occasion, that there is 'only one pen in the Punjab that could write like this'. But what does it mean? Balance the terms intended to be inter-antithetic, and what do we get?—a 'pathological disorder', and a 'physiological disturbance'; is not the latter a disorder, and so far as it is a disturbance of the natural functions of the '*corpus publicum*,' is it not a morbid or pathological disorder. 'Corruptions inseparable,' 'criminality spontaneous and inevitable:' 'advanced civilization,' 'social growth,' are they not couples expressing the same idea in many and different words, yet at the first reading, they are likely to cheat the reader into the idea that the distinction is real as the expressions are ambiguous. No doubt the good Homer nods at times.

Again, it is hardly fair for a Government report to mention, in a deprecatory way, that convicts very often rejoin their friends on release without the loss of social reputation, so long as Government action in such cases toward securing the social recognition of the offence, is not all that it might be. So, long as perjurers, adulterers, and other persons guilty of supposed 'solitary offences' find no token, after release, of recognition at the hands of Government officials of the reality and heinousness of their dereliction; and worse than this, so long as officials found guilty of bribery, partiality, or the like, and imprisoned in consequence regain, if not their former official position, yet a lower one in Government employ; in one word, so long as Government with a negative action of its left hand undoes, or partly undoes, the positive action of its right hand, what wonder is it that natives with centuries of moral obliquity to stamp their hereditary faculties with folly and vice, should fail at times to recognise the verdicts of tribunals whose

procedure and principles they can but imperfectly understand. In the present fierce competition for Government employ, it is but common-sense as well as justice to enforce, as a rule having no exception, that a Government official once imprisoned for any offence whatever should under no circumstances be allowed to re-enter Government service. A partial recognition of this necessity is found in the practice of gazetting offenders with a view to prevent their being re-employed; but instances where this precaution has been dispensed with, and where offenders have again obtained service, are neither few nor far to seek.

The question of religious teaching is dealt with at some length and the result arrived at is, that Christianity cannot be taught; that Hindu and Muhammadan teaching are undesirable, and that moral teaching dissociated from theology is impracticable. The reason given against the first is, that Government teaching Christianity would violate the principles of neutrality which from the first it has set before itself in ruling India. There is, however, something to be said against this; the 'neutrality' considered of such vital importance is the right, we presume, of free subjects as such, but when the subject is convicted of a criminal offence can his right to his own religion be said to remain intact? We know of no argument to show that it does. If by teaching him Christianity we can reform him morally and socially, there seems no reason in the world why we should not, as well as teaching him the elevating mysteries of addition and subtraction. Whether or not, under such circumstances, the dogmatic teaching of Christian doctrine would be successful and effective is another matter, but let not one be confounded with the other. If a State professedly Christian does not believe in the practical and working power of Christian truth to make thieves honest, and adulterers pure, then let it say so boldly and decisively, but let it not flatter itself and tickle the ears of its subjects by parading, and ostentatiously guarding a principle which is for the purpose transported beyond its proper sphere. But to return. On page 49 of the summary of the report, we read:—

"Hard labour, which is almost invariably awarded in the case of long-term prisoners, is very often not given as a part of the sentence of short-term convicts, though these ordinarily include the professional offenders whose residence in jail it is desirable to make so unpleasant as to prevent their return."

This, which coming where it does, fits in with one of the writer's theories, hardly corresponds with the facts. It would *prima facie* be doubtful to any one knowing the average mental calibre of European magistrates in this country whether any large proportion of offenders got off so easily, and on referring to the appendix we find that they do not. While 2,747 persons imprison-

ed for one month got hard labour (the name is not authorised by the Penal Code) only 457 were incarcerated without it, and while in the six months class 6,000 were subject to rigorous, only 176 enjoyed immunity from penal toil. The longer terms of course show an even smaller proportion of the latter. If the sentences of European magistrates were given separately, the results would probably be even more decided; but as it is, the proposition above quoted is hardly corroborated by the official figures. We do not, indeed, place much reliance on such figures where there is any close comparison, but here there can be no mistake. It is an error wide of the mark to say that any large number of convicts suffer simple imprisonment, and it is practically hurtful as likely to mislead. What is wanted is to make the whole system of jail discipline more rigorous; the 'hard labour' spoken of, really hard; and any negligence or laziness on the part of prisoners in performing it should be habitually punished by the lash—the only thing feared by the convict.

We have now noticed some of the more salient points of Sir Henry Davies' government—but only some. Want of space forbids to dwell on the steady progress in civil and criminal judicial administration; the interest shown by the Lieutenant-Governor in miscellaneous matters affecting the welfare of the province; the attitude of the Government as regards usury and the relations of the zemindar and *banya*. These, and many other matters of interest remain necessarily undiscussed. Were we to discuss them we should certainly have to record our dissent from some views officially expressed in the reports under notice; but we are able, nevertheless, to congratulate the retiring Lieutenant-Governor on the general results of his rule. Reserved, almost cold in his personal manner, Sir Henry Davies has yet, throughout his administration, been able to command the respect of all classes, official and non-official, so far as it can be commanded by a calm vigorous judgment; a temperate and well-weighed procedure; a constant and regulated attention to all matters coming before him. His distribution of patronage is generally admitted to have been fair; his choice of men has been just; and he has shown a consideration for officers under him which goes far in making their services loyal and willing. Following immediately after men whose lot fell in times which, if they demanded great qualities, also gave great opportunities for displaying them; he became prominent in quieter scenes, among more common events. Yet, 'Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war'; and, among those who have gained their laurels in the *toga* and not in arms, no unworthy place will be given to the chief actor in the last six years of Punjab Rule.

A PUNJABI.

ART. IV.—THE BENARES RIOTS OF 1809-1811.

THE years 1809 and 1810 are two of the most remarkable in the local history of Benares, and the events of those two years, apart from their historic interest, present the curious psychological study of a popular mind, inoculated with riot-virus, sliding by rapid but not violent, transition through the three stages of religious, social and political agitation.

In October 1809 the city of Benares was on a sudden swept by a gust of animosity resulting in the very serious outbreak known in the records* as "the Lât Bhairi riots." But more remarkable than this riot itself was its after result. The popular mind seemed to have been thoroughly poisoned. Every one was agog for tumult and mischief. Any pretext for agitation served to stir the city to its depths. The original disturbance marked only by shocking religious outrages had completely subsided in June 1810. But the last of the correspondence regarding it leads the reader without a break into a lengthier series of letters regarding a new source of trouble—a singular feud that had sprung up between the military and the police. The result was a long succession of petty affrays, but also a fortunate diversion of popular attention from religious matters. The sepoy carried on a guerilla warfare in the streets of the city against the police, and in either body Hindus and Mussulmans were indiscriminately mingled. Towards the end of the year this curious embroilment subsided and a partial reorganisation of the city police (effected in October), may be said to close the second episode of this eventful year. Before, however, the city had thoroughly quieted down, the House Tax Regulation (XV. of 1810) had been extended to Benares, and from the ashes of the sepoy-police agitation, the phoenix of riot rose in all its original strength and the year closed, as it had opened, in popular tumult. And so it came about that the 10th of January 1811 found Benares, as the 1st of January 1810 had found it, seething with clamorous mobs and troops holding the city.

When Aurungzebe, bent on humiliating the Hindus to the utmost, threw down temples and in their place erected mosques, he built upon the ruins of the old Bisheshwar fane, a Mussulman place of worship. Under his successors, however, the Hindus built another temple to Bisheshwar as near as possible to the original site, and thus it has come about that there stand in Benares, wall

* The Records of the Benares Collectorate.

to wall, the Mahomedan mosque and the Hindu temple—a fruitful source of ill-will between the rival religions. In 1809 this ill-will culminated in a sudden outbreak of religious fury. The crisis lasted only three days, but for that time there was hourly imminent the wholesale massacre of the Mahomedan population. The admirable conduct of the troops and the extraordinary exertions of Mr. W. W. Bird (acting as city magistrate), alone averted a most shocking catastrophe.

The Mahomedans concerned were of the lowest order, butchers and weavers. Among the Hindus were many of rank and influence. The Rajputs to a man, great and small, mixed eagerly in the mêlée and were prominent in it, with one exception however, Bissumbher Pandit. On neither side were there men of the very highest position; the Raja of Benares and the family of Mirza Jewan Bukht were alike thanked by Government for withholding their countenance to the rioters. As regards the religious classes, it is noteworthy that the higher Brahmins took no part in the riot. They expressed throughout a dignified and seemly grief and listened to reason when the magistrate asked their assistance to quell the excitement. It was a Brahmin who saved from death the child of the murdered Mutwali of the mosque. The lower religious classes of Gosains, however, behaved throughout with obstinate fanaticism, headed the mob in their atrocities, murdered, robbed and burned with their own hands, and opposed from first to last the restoration of order.

The following account of this outbreak is compiled from the records of the Benares Collectorate; but before entering on the narrative, I give from Mr. Sherring's work on Benares, an account of the famous "Lât of Shiva" as it is at present, together with a few notes on the Bisheshwar temple, the Kapilmochan tank and Gyanbaffi mosque, the three sacred places most prominent in the riots described in this article.

"To the north of the road leading from the Rajghat Fort to the cantonments, at the distance of from three-quarters of a mile to a mile from the former place, is the Kapilmochan tank. It is also called *Bhaira ka Tulao*, or the tank of Bhairo. On the high ground to the north of the tank stands a pillar from 7 to 8 feet in height, and three in thickness, situated in the midst of a slightly elevated stone *chabutra* or platform. * * *

"This is the Lât or pillar of Shiva.* It is the representative of an ancient pillar which formerly stood on this spot and was thrown down by the Mahomedans in a struggle between them and the Hindus some sixty years ago. There is some ground for supposing that the present pillar is a fragment of the ancient one † and that it very likely bears a portion of the carv-

* It is worth noting that this Bhairo."

pillar is never once in the Records, not even by the Hindus in their memorial, see later, called "the Lât of Shiva." It is always "the Lât of

† There are grounds also for supposing that the remainder of the Lât was buried close by. Such at any rate, was the suggestion of the ma-

ing known to have been on the original column.* The pillar was once situated in the enclosure of a Hindu temple : but that ruthless monarch destroyed the temple, and in its place erected a mosque, leaving the curiously carved pillar, & other as an ornament to the grounds, or under a wholesome dread of provoking to too great a pitch the indignation of his Hindu subjects.† * * *

The Hindus, however, continued to pay divine homage to the pillar, which although repugnant to the feelings of the Mahomedans, was nevertheless endured by them, especially as they were permitted to receive a portion of the offerings. * * *

"The natives say, that after the furious collision between those two great sections of the people in the city, the pillar was removed to the bank of the Ganges and thrown into the river."‡ * * *

Mr. Sherring then goes on to give an account of the disturbance which, as it does not coincide with the narrative of the records, I have omitted. Mr. Sherring supposes the riots to have occurred during, or soon after the Mohurram in February ; whereas it will be seen they took place in October, there being then no Mussulman festival in progress. The Hindu Dewali occurred, however, immediately after the first disturbance. Mr. Sherring then continues—

"The Lât was in all likelihood destroyed by fire, the action of which on sandstone soon causes it to crumble to pieces. As there is strong reason for believing that this was one of Asoka's pillars, it would be exceedingly interesting to inspect the remaining fragment, which we may reasonably suppose to belong to the original column, and in that case to possess a portion of an inscription sufficient to certify its connexion with Asoka, or with the Guptas, or with some other monarch by whom the column was erected. * * *

"It is important in our present investigation, to know that the pillar once stood in proximity to a temple, or in its court-yard ; the temple was destroyed by Aurungzebe, and on its site, a mosque was erected, the court-yard of which enclosed the pillar. On examining the terrace where the Lât stands, we see quite distinctly that the upper portion has been thrown up in modern times, and that the ancient level of the ground was some six or eight feet lower than what it now is. * * * In this case the length of the existing fragment would not be less than from 14 to 16 feet."

Bhairo, or Bhaironath, is at this day worshipped in 8 temples. He is the deified *Kotwal* of Benares, and the gods and saints whose shrines abound on the *Panch Kosi* road are his constables. His baton, *Dândpan* (*danda*, a stick) shares divine honors with

gistrate to the Brahmins who, in all other points connected with the re-purification of the pillar, acted upon his advice. If the Lât was really buried at all, the place would probably be found either near the present stump or on the original site, which, when all the disturbances were suppressed, was formally purified and re-consecrated.

* Elsewhere Mr. Sherring surmises that the original pillar was about

40 feet high. See, however, the memorial.

† Aurungzebe, it may be suggested, left the pillar standing because he considered it (as did all the other Mahomedans) to be the work of Feroze Shah.

‡ The Ganges, as Mr. Sherring in another place observes, was half a mile distant, and this was therefore improbable.

Bhairo; for while the Kotwal takes his ease this intelligent cudgel looks after the *budmashes* of the city of its own accord, and beats those found committing such crimes as are properly cognizable by the police.

The following is also from Mr. Sherring's work :—

"The Hindus had a tradition," writes the Rev. William Buyers in his *Recollection of Northern India*, "that the pillar was gradually sinking; it having, according to report, been once twice its present height, and it was also prophesied, that when its top should become level with the ground all nations should be of one caste. The throwing down, therefore, of this pillar was regarded as most ominous and dangerous to Hinduism. * * *

The whole Hindu population, headed by the Brahmins and devotees, rose in fury on the Mussulmans and attacked them with every sort of weapon within their reach. One mosque was pulled down, and they determined to destroy every other in the city; but the civil authorities, with all the military force that could be collected, interposed, and by putting guards to defend the mosques, succeeded in saving them. In the early part of the quarrel the Mussulmans, in order to be revenged on the Hindus for the defeat they had sustained, had taken a cow, and killed it on one of the holiest ghâts, and mingled its blood with the sacred water of the Ganga. This act of double sacrilege was looked on by the Brahmins as having destroyed the sacredness of the holy place, if not of the whole city, so that salvation in future might not be attainable by pilgrimage to Benares. They were, therefore, all in the greatest affliction; and Brahmins in the city, many thousands in number, went down in deep sorrow to the river side, naked and fasting with ashes on their heads. But the British functionaries went to them, expressed their sorrow for the distress in which they saw them, and reasoned with them on the absurdity of punishing themselves for an act in which they had no share, and which they had done all they could to prevent or avenge. This prevailed, and after much bitter weeping, it was resolved that Ganga was Ganga still; Mr. Bird (the chief English official in Benares)* who was one of the ambassadors on this occasion, said that the scene was very impressive, and even awful. "The gaunt, squalid figures of the devotees, their visible and, apparently, unaffected anguish and dismay, the screams and outcries of the women who surrounded them, and the great numbers thus assembled, altogether constituted a spectacle of woe such as few cities but Benares could supply."

In the weavers' quarter of the city, and chief among the *julahars*, lived two brothers Dost and Fâtteh Mahomed. These persons exercised within their *mahals* undisputed authority over every one of their community, and gave the final decision in all questions of common interest. No general assembly could be convened but in their name, singly or conjointly, and they presided in person at every consultation of importance. Now, among the Hindus scattered here and there in the midst of this large Mahomedan fraternity, "was a Nagar, by name Madhu Rai" who

* Mr. Bird was officiating for the magistrate. This outline of the events of 1809 is so generally correct that Mr. Buyers must, I think, have had

access to the records. The last sentence is, moreover, quoted from a letter which does not now exist in the records.

fell ill, and learning in a vision that his ailment was the work of a *bhūt*, vowed to Hanuman that if he foiled the evil spirit, his dwelling of mud under the *pipal* tree by the Bisheshwar temple should be changed to one of stone. The Nagar got well, and in discharge of his vow, collected materials to erect a stone wall round the idol. The site, however, was a portion of the long-contested ground common to the mosque of Aurungzebe and the Bisheshwar temple, and the Mahommedans taking umbrage at the innovation, warned the Nagar to desist from his pious work, promising, however, to hold a meeting for the drawing up of a formal remonstrance for presentation to the authorities, with whom should rest the final decision between the Nagar and themselves. Madhu Rai accordingly desisted, and on the evening of October 19th, Dost Mahomed went down in person to the Kotwal, and explaining what had been done, obtained that functionary's assent to a *punchayat* of the *julahars* at the Gyanbaffi mosque next day. Early in the morning it became evident to the residents of the weavers' quarter that a great event was pending, for a notice, emanating from Dost Mahomed, was in circulation convening a general assembly at the *Imāmbārah* in question.* As evening drew in, word went round that there would be no prayers at sunset in any of the mosques in the neighbourhood, and that those who wished to pray should repair to the mosque within the old Bisheshwar enclosure. The result was a most unusual muster of the faithful at prayer. The disputed ground was crowded with Musalmans who filled not only the space strictly attached to their mosque, but all the terrace of the *Lāt* of Bhairo and the precincts of the Bisheshwar. Nor when the prayers were over did the crowd disperse. Perhaps Dost Mahomed had given the hint, or perhaps it was spontaneous enthusiasm, but anyhow the Mahommedans set to work to pollute the *Lāt* and such of its surroundings as they knew to be held sacred by the Hindus. The pedestal on which *Hanuman* was seated was tilted over, the *tulsi* tree hard by was pulled up, and the great *Lāt* itself was beaten with shoes. The gravity of the mischief they had committed does not seem to have suggested itself to the mob, for after hanging about the mosque till a late hour they quietly dispersed, having meanwhile settled the real business of the evening (the discussion as to the Nagar's wall), by a resolution to present a remonstrance against the erection next day. All this while, however, there had been three Hindu spectators of the sacrilege, the Jogi who had charge of the *tulsi* tree, the Jogi of the *Lāt*, and the Nagar devotee of *Hanuman*; and while the Mahommedans were still wandering about the sacred premises, these three had fled in horror into the

* This, was the place of worship built by Aurungzebe on the ruins of the old Bisheshwar.

city. The news soon spread, and before daybreak the whole Hindu community had heard of the sacrilege. At early dawn a crowd began to assemble at the Lât. The acting magistrate * on receiving the news, at once proceeded to the spot and persuaded the Hindus already there to disperse. Apprehending, however, a re-assembling of the angry mob, he obtained from the General commanding the division, two companies of sepoys for the protection of the Mahomedan Places of worship. By noon his apprehensions were realised, for the Hindus were again assembling in large numbers. The restlessness that now began to pervade the whole city warned Dost Mahomed of coming danger. News came in that a crowd of Rajputs were on their way to the Lât, and soon after a messenger arrived to say that the Hindus had attacked and polluted the Imambarah of Aurungzebe. He accordingly convened a meeting of the leading Chowdries of the Julahars at the Chand Rahmat Ghazi mosque, and soon afterwards a general assembly of the Mahomedans at "Summigh Khel." The pretext for these meetings was the drawing up of the remonstrance against the Nagar's stone wall, but the real motive was the arrangement of measures of self-defence against the time when the Hindus should retaliate. The word went round, and soon not a Mussalman was left in the weavers' quarter. They poured out to the Summigh Khel, and the meeting was excited and enthusiastic. With their numbers their courage increased, and at length it was resolved by acclamation to anticipate the retaliation of the Hindus by a supreme outrage—nothing less than the sacking of the Bisheshwar temple! Of all the temples of Benares that of Bisheshwar or Shiva was, and is, the most honoured, for Bisheshwar is the king of the gods.

The idea was a fine one in its audacity, but had it been successfully carried out, Benares would have been given up to slaughter, and history have recorded a most terrible religious convulsion. The utter annihilation of the Musalmans, their families and places of worship, would hardly, so said the Hindus, have been an adequate compensation for such an insult to Bisheshwar. The design, however, failed. At first the rumour that the Julahars were marching on the temple was not credited. It seemed too extravagant for belief. But as messenger after messenger came in to say that they had met, marching through Tallia Nalla in the direction of the great temple, bodies of Mahomedans, armed, with standards hoisted, striking their breasts and shouting their cry of "Hasan, Husain," the crowd of Hindus at the Lât awoke to the danger. The news meanwhile had flashed through the city, and from all the bazars came Rajputs running arms in hand, and Brahmins trooping

* * Mr. W. Bird. The Magistrate was Mr. Watson, absent at the time in Calcutta.

behind with cries of distress and invocations to Shiva. All steps were directed to the threatened temple. At Gayeghat the two streams met, and at once without a word of parley, the conflict began. Both sides were well armed with matchlocks, swords and spears, and had the battle-field been an open space instead of a narrow passage, the whole Julahar crowd would assuredly have been destroyed. The precincts of the temple were choked with clamorous Hindus, and every avenue to the shrine of Bisheshwar was closely packed with armed Rajputs. Dost Mahomed, however, led his army* to the attack, but against solid walls of men better armed than themselves, the Julahars had no chance, and when he saw their front-rank beaten back at every point he gave the word for a rapid retreat, and the Mahomedan crowd leaving eighty of their number dead, suddenly melted away. Expecting their return the Hindus remained in battle array, but Dost Mahomed had other plans, and while the crowds round the Bisheshwar were increasing, the Julahars were retracing their steps at full speed to the Lát.

Here, meanwhile, exciting events had been in progress. Hindus and Musalmans had each in turn desecrated the holy places. The latter had pulled the tiled roof off from the Hanuman and scattered over the terrace the idols that had stood under the *pipal* tree. The Hindus had retorted by pelting with shoes the Haji who was reading the Koran and by tearing up his book. But the police were in force. Mr. Bird himself was on the spot and with him was an escort of regulars. Comparatively, therefore, the peace had been preserved, but every minute the crowds had been increasing, arms began to be brandished, and the vociferous interchange of imprecations and abuse filled the sacred precincts with uproar. Just at this juncture had come the news of the march of the Julahars on the Bisheshwar, and almost to a man the Hindus had fled to the threatened shrine. The Musalmans had streamed out with them, and Mr. Bird to look after both parties, had despatched the regulars and the Hindus of the police force to the defence of the Bisheshwar. The Lát was therefore deserted. Except some Mahomedan policemen not a soul was there.

The attack on the Bisheshwar had now been made and foiled, and the Mahomedan army, returning as it happened by another route to that taken by the crowds rushing to the Bisheshwar, arrived at the Lát—and found it defenceless. They at once proceeded to mischief. A cow was dragged out from a neighbouring house and killed at the foot of the pillar. Its blood was taken into every corner, till all the sacred place was splashed with it, and then the carcase was flung, with shouts of exultation, into the holy

There were seven or eight thousand Julahars at his command.

bank of Bhairo. Firewood was heaped round the Lát and lighted, to destroy no doubt the metal appendages of the pillar; and finally amidst cries of triumph, the Lát itself was overthrown, shattering in its fall into many pieces! This accomplished, the crowd rapidly dispersed. Long before this a few Hindus who had turned back when the majority of their brethren fled to save the Bisheshwar, had carried the news of what was going on into the city. And so for the second time, on this eventful day the whole place was absolutely deserted. Mr. Bird was among the first to hear of the sacrilege, and returning in hot haste from the Bisheshwar, arrived at the Lát to find himself the only person on the scene of the outrage. Nor though he waited 'until late into the night, did any crowd return. The Hindus from horror of the sacrilege would not visit the defiled spot; they remained surging round the Bisheshwar. The Mahomedans terrified at the tempest they had now raised were awaiting an attack in their own quarter. A strong guard was placed at the Lát all night, but morning came without anything occurring to disturb the peace.

The story now changes from Dost Mahomed the Julahar to Rattan Singh, Rajput. From this point to the murderous finale the weaver brothers do not figure again. The Mahomedans had had their hour of triumph and were now cowering in their houses before the tumult they had so wantonly excited.

The city, however, had not slept all night. The bells of all the temples had been ringing from sunset to dawn. The bazars were, many of them, as full of life as if the sun were shining. The houses were all alight, and the constant hurrying to and fro of people, the unusual number of the police, and the occasional passage of a body of regulars, combined to form a scene of strange excitement. In the Rajput quarter, at the houses of Rattan Singh, Mannear Singh, Sheodial Singh and Outar Singh, secret meetings were held, and there, as well as in some of the temples, an oath was administered to the Hindus to avenge their outraged gods. It had so happened that, some weeks before this, a butcher had killed a cow in the sight of Rattan Singh, who ever since had been brooding over the deed, and long before the outrage on the Lát had given the Hindus good reason for their wrath, had been trying to excite his caste fellows to active indignation. The outrage on the Lát came in therefore most opportunely for his purpose. The day broke, and as hours passed, it almost seemed as if in the stir of the preceding night the wrath of the Hindus had effervesced. But about noon, just when the city should have been seeking its siesta, there was a sudden call to arms, and as if from the earth a vast throng of armed Rajputs, some thousands strong, poured out, and led by Rattan Singh and Mannear Singh, took their way to the Lát. Behind and mixed up with them were hundreds

of Gosains, screaming out invocations to the god, and by their cries and gestures exciting the armed crowd to a frenzy of fanatical rage. At headlong speed the avengers traversed the intervening streets and soon arrived at the outraged Lât now lying in fragments on the ground and splashed with cow's blood. The mosque of Aurungzebe was soon in flames. Every Mahomedan found lurking within its precincts was put to the sword, and his body thrown into the blazing pile. A hog was brought in, killed at the pulpit, and its blood sprinkled over the corpses and ashes.* Meanwhile the passage of the Rajputs and Gosains through the streets had filled the city with fanatical excitement, and from end to end Benares was given up to pillage and slaughter. The people had slipped from the control of the authorities, and Mr. Bird finding his handful of regulars useless against the armed multitude, withdrew them to follow Rattan Singh, and his Rajput force, and to save, if possible, other places of Mahomedan worship. Those rioters though they had wreaked their vengeance, were still on the spot gloating over their havoc when the magistrate arrived. This moment was the most critical of the riots.

Prominent among the Rajputs was Mannear Singh, the chief man in the whole Puril Mohallah and, obedient to his least hint, were mobbed round him all the Rajputs of Benares, armed to the teeth and intoxicated with religious enthusiasm. A word from Mannear Singh and the next minute would have seen the magistrate and all his regulars added to the list of dead.

Mr. Bird knew this, and feeling that the presence of the sepoys would irritate the rioters while their number would excite only contempt, entered the sacred place alone, and called on Mannear Singh to come down from the terrace. The Rajput obeyed. Mr. Bird ordered him to disperse his force, and without a moment's hesitation Mannear Singh gave the order! There was soon not a Rajput in the place. The conduct of Mannear Singh, wrote Mr. Bird, "preserved the life of every man with me."

Once however out of sight of the representative of Government the Rajput recovered himself and gave the order to make for

* The memorial of the Musalmans (see p. 112) gives a fairly accurate account of the condition of the city at this time, but refers only incidentally to the following touching episode of the murderous attack on the mosque: While hunting about for victims in the precincts of the mosque, a child some 11 years of age, the son of the Mutwali of the mosque, was dragged out from his hiding place to where

his father's corpse was lying, and a Gosain struck at him with a sword. The lad held out his hands to ward off the blow, and fell on his father's corpse severely wounded. Before the blow could be repeated, a Brahmin rushed forward and catching up the young Musalman in his arms, defied the murderers to harm him. Eventually the child was given up by its protector to the Magistrate.

the Durgáh of Fatima * and the Prince's tomb † on the other side of the city. Thither Mr. Bird pursued them. The Rajputs, when he arrived, were already at work breaking up the tombs round the Durgáh, but the order was given to the sepöys to fire in the air. The rioters upon this withdrew, but after a few moments' hesitation rushed forward again. A second volley was fired, and this time, whether by accident or not, the leading Rajput was killed. The advance was again checked, but the uproar became tremendous. At this critical moment there came quite unexpectedly on the scene a company of regulars. After a second consultation Rattan Singh gave the order for a retreat, and the rioters withdrew taking the corpse with them. The reinforcement* of troops that had so opportunely arrived was a strong one, so leaving an adequate guard at the *Durgah*, the magistrate divided the remainder, and sending Major Leslie into the city by one route entered himself by the other. The whole of Benares he wrote "was in the most dreadful uproar and confusion. The temples were shut and multitudes of armed Hindus were assembled in every quarter directing their rage chiefly against the lives and property of the weavers and butchers. The Gosaines were busy dilapidating the Gyanbafi Musjid and had set fire to it. Several bazaars were in flames, and the whole quarter of the Julahars was a scene of plunder and violence." Parties of troops were soon, however, scouring all the streets, and in two hours all the people were driven within doors or on to the sands of the river. But by this time some fifty Musjids had been destroyed, and from the streets were gathered in, dead and wounded, a hundred persons. The number removed by their friends to escape implication in the riot must have been much larger,

The night passed tranquilly, and next day in spite of the great agitation everywhere prevailing, the rioters could make no head. The city was completely in the power of the large military force now quartered in it. On the 24th Mr. Bird conferred with the Brahmins, and with their concurrence opened the Hindu temples. The shops then began to be opened and gradually the city resumed its usual appearance. A proclamation ordering the people to return to their daily avocations, and threatening with punishment the wearing of any weapon in the streets, was issued on the 25th. It was universally obeyed and Benares returned to comparative peace. For a time the order of Government directing all the rioters to be tried according to the usual procedure (the verdict dependent upon the fatwa of a Mahommedan) renewed the agitation; and when, after receipt of the memorials (see later) Government directed the magistrate to express to both parties its

* The mother of the Imam Hussein.

† Erected by the sons of Prince

Jewan Bukht, to the memory of their father, and held in the highest veneration by the Mahommedans.

dissatisfaction with the tone of their respective documents, the general uneasiness prevalent became so pronounced, that troops had again to be called in to hold the city. The order insisting on the fatwa was however withdrawn, and the disturbance gradually died out. For some months, however, guards remained near the chief places of worship of either religion, and it was not until June of the following year, when the Hindus reconsecrated their outraged shrines, that the first riot can be said to have actually concluded.

Such is the narrative of the actual outbreak—the Lât Bhairo Riot—but equally interesting are some of the subsequent events and the correspondence concerning them.

The festival of the Diwāli came on immediately after the cessation of the riots, and it was with the greatest difficulty the Gosains could be restrained from attempts to rekindle the smouldering wrath of the Hindus. They obstinately refused to illuminate their houses and did their best to persuade others to sulk also. The following extract from one of Mr. Bird's letters shows the danger that may in any future religious disturbance be expected from the misdemeanour of the lower religious orders.

"The mohunts, Chitun Gir, Moti Gir, Sheodeo Gir, Kishendial Gir, are the superiors of an order of Hindus denominated Gosains, and exercise over the minds of this class of people a very peculiar kind of influence from the singular nature of their institutions and habits. The lower orders are peculiarly in subjection to the will of their superiors, whose privileges secure them a deference and respect, especially in religious matters, which rank and riches alone cannot command.

19. On the 21st of October, the Gosains in general took no active part in the disputes at Copaul Mochun between the Julahars and the Rajpoots. The Bisheshwar was threatened with attack, the Lât Bhairo was absolutely destroyed, without a single effort on their part to prevent it; on that day the Rajpoots presented the only obstacle to the excesses of the Julahars, but on Sunday, the 22nd, when a scheme had been concerted to retaliate on the Mahomedans at large, for the injuries done to the religion of the Hindus the Gosains were foremost in the work of vengeance. It has been already stated that I was compelled to quit the city at 11 o'clock, to oppose the Rajpoots assembled at the Immambara; at this favourable moment the prisoners armed themselves without delay, and collecting the chief people of their caste, proceeded with the mob of Gosains to the spot which is the site both of the temple of Bisheshwar and the Gyanbafi Masjid. This mob soon set fire to the masjid and murdered all the people who were attached to it. The prisoners leaving this work to the populace quitted the Bisheshwar and, followed by multitudes of armed people traversed the city to the Churn Padka, a Hindu place of sanctity on the bank of the Ganges; here they remained assembled until my return to the city at one o'clock, when the Hindus being driven from the masjid, the multitude quitted the Churn Padka, and collected in the streets and avenues, surrounding the Bisheshwar; here the prisoners did not remain long, they thought it prudent to return home, but the multitude of Gosains who attended them, proceeded to carry fire and sword into the different quarters of the city until they were finally driven away by the efforts of the military.

On the 23rd of that month, the Brahmins and other superior orders of

the Hindus, who were sitting fasting at the ghâts and who had abstained from food since the evening of 20th, were with some difficulty persuaded by Major Leslie and myself to disperse and take their ordinary nourishment, in order to allay the apprehension of the people ; among these respectable men there were no Gosains or any one who had taken a part in the disturbance. But on the morning of the 21st, the prisoners assembled with the whole body of Gosains and seating themselves upon the ghâts, remained there in spite of all remonstrance until the agitation occasioned by it threatened a renewal of those horrors from which the city had so recently been rescued. I was compelled to go in person to remove them. For this conduct they have not even a tolerable pretext. They collected not like the Brahmins on the 23rd from religious principle, but for the purpose of obtaining concessions which they were fully conscious nothing less than the danger to be apprehended from their influence and example could ever extort at a time when the public authority naturally looked for support to the most respectable of its subjects."

Not less striking than the difference of conduct between the Gosains and the more respectable Brahmins, was the difference between the conduct of the police and that of the military during these occurrences.

The former divided themselves into two parties, Hindu and Musalman, and wherever they were stationed sided with their co-religionists against each other instead of combining to preserve the peace against all comers. Thus the Hindus, who were despatched from the Lât to help to defend the Bisheshwar, used all their authority to excite the people to retaliation on the Musalmans, and on their way released from the police a number of Hindus who were being taken to the Kotwali for having joined in the disturbance ; and when on the 22nd, two Mahommedans were murdered close to the Thanna, the Hindu constables on duty neither interfered nor apprehended the murderers. On the other hand, the Musalmans, who had been retained at the Lât and who were therefore on guard when their co-religionists returned from the unsuccessful attack on the Bisheshwar temple, not only did nothing to stop the sacrilege that at once commenced, but refused subsequently to identify any of those concerned. The Kotwal himself was a Musalman, and for his supposed complicity with his co-religionists went in danger of his life till he resigned his post.

The soldiers, however, maintained throughout the utmost discipline, and, whether Hindu or Mahommedan, remained true to their trust of guarding the places of worship of either denomination, acting as effectively against their co-religionists as against other disturbers of the peace.

The problem of punishing the rioters remained to be settled, and a very difficult one it proved. The Mahommedans it was true had commenced the riot, but on the other hand the Hindus had exacted a very ample retribution. The latter, however, when all

was over, considered themselves the injured party, and such was their agitation that the magistrate, Mr. Watson, wrote (October 30, 1809). "I am convinced that if some satisfaction is not afforded to the Hindus, they will be glad at a future period to seize a favourable opportunity for completing the destruction of the Mahomedan places of worship within the limits of their holy city."

By the law, as then existing, the sentences passed on the offenders would have been dependent on the fatwa of the Mahomedan law officers, but as the present trials were some of them, those of Mahomedans, who by their law had acted very meritoriously in committing the very acts for which they were to be tried, and the rest of the prisoners were Hindus in custody for killing Mahomedans and defiling their places of worship, the usual procedure, Mr. Bird suggested, was inappropriate. The Nizamat Adalat, to whom the point was referred, saw, however, no reason for dispensing with the customary fatwa. The acting Magistrate again protested :

"It cannot escape his Excellency that, although common sense and natural justice must view the excesses of both parties as equal offences against the public peace, the authority of Government and the welfare of the society, still the fundamental principles of the Musalman law are diametrically at variance with such a sentiment. That law resting on the assumption of the excessive sanctity of the Mahomedan religion and the heresy of all other modes of belief, will consider the slightest insult offered by a Hindu to a place of Musalman worship as a heinous sacrilege and profanation, while in the greatest outrages committed against any object of Hindu superstition, it will see nothing but a laudable attempt at the extirpation of idolatry.

6. On the line of conduct which Government may adopt upon this delicate occasion will depend the future peace of the city. To the impartiality of a British administration equally to attend to the religious prejudices of both parties, they look with confidence, but their mutual rancour towards each other may be collected from the style of the memorials and much more from the nature and extent of their respective demands. In this state of mutual irritation, the decision of a religious contest by the religion of one of the parties is something more than a matter of form. It cannot but appear a total departure from the principles of impartial justice. Government can certainly admit of no compromise with its dignity, nor concede the slightest point to either party, but equal justice is due to both and they appear entitled to claim the adoption of such measures as may be necessary for securing a fair trial. The power which Government has reserved to itself of finally remitting or mitigating the punishment in each particular case will ameliorate the rigour of the Mahomedan law as it affects the Hindus, but its operation will be confined to that sect alone. It does not anticipate nor provide for the release of the Musalman aggressors whose crimes in the eye of the law are their greatest merit, men whom the expounder of the law cannot in his conscience convict, and whom it is impossible, consistently with justice, to punish in the teeth of a verdict of acquittal. To administer equal justice the punishment of the Hindus must be remitted because the Musalmans cannot be convicted, and thus both classes of criminals escape,

and no atonement is made by either for the common outrage against public authority."

Government eventually dispensed with the fatwa, and the trials were conducted by a special court.

A more delicate problem was the arrangement of measures to prevent similar collisions in the future, for the two religions were so closely blended both at the Bisheshwar and the Kapalmochan that any separation of the two without the total exclusion of one or other was impossible. Mr. Watson (the magistrate) suggested the following compromise.* With regard to the Bisheshwar site, that the Musalmans should be restricted to the mosque and terrace appertaining to it, and the Hindus be maintained in the exclusive access to the sacred walk round the mosque and the Gyanbafi well. With regard to the Kapalmochan he advised the exclusion of the Musalmans as both more easy and more consonant to justice than the exclusion of the Hindus. He wrote "The reputed sanctity of the spot in the eyes of the Hindus would not be lost by its exclusive appropriation to Musalman devotion, while the everlasting rancour of the Hindus would be kept alive by a sense of the profanation to which their holy place was exposed, and a regret at being denied access to it. With the Musalmans, on the contrary, no particular sanctity attached to the spot. An Eedgah in any other situation would be equally an object of resort, and it is only held by the Musalmans in peculiar estimation here as it marks the former ascendancy of of one religion over the other. When all collision of the two sects is obviated at the Bisheshwar mosque and Kapalmochan by the seclusion of the Musalmans at the one and their exclusion from the other, I anticipate no ground of dispute from the Musalmans retaining entire possession of the minaret mosque called by the Hindus Beynee Madhoo and of that at Sheikh Katun Allees (or the Hindu Kurrut Baseysur). The Hindus have long since appropriated another temple to the idol to which the former place was originally dedicated, and the fountain at the latter which the Hindus esteem sacred is an object of devotion to them only one day in the year.†

* In this as in other counsel which he gave, Mr. Watson was shown by Mr. Bird's subsequent reasoning to take a somewhat inadequate view of the state of affairs—P. It.

† Government had also enquired whether any particular spots had ever been set apart for the slaughter of kine, and Mr. Watson replied—

"particular spots in the suburbs of the city were originally fixed upon by Mr. Duncan for the slaughter of cattle as mentioned in section 88. Regulation, XXII. 1795. The restriction has in a lapse of years been gradually relaxed and cattle are sometimes slaughtered, particularly for religious sacrifices, within the city.

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This extraordinary advice Mr. Bird wisely opposed. Both Hindus and Musalmans had, he said, suffered so severely that neither would again molest the other, and he deprecated the perpetuation of the memories of the recent collision. This sagacity has been vindicated by 60 years of peace between the sects. Government adopted his counsels and no alteration whatever was made in the original position of the parties. Permission was given to both alike to repair damages, and according to their respective religious customs each purified their violated altars. The Hindus held high ceremonies, and with prayers and Ganges' water the fragments of the Lât were restored to their original sanctity and reverently buried. The stump was set up on its present site, and the veneration paid to the original pillar transferred to the mutilated relict.

Meanwhile both Mahommedans and Hindus had drawn up their memorials,—remarkable documents which I consider well worthy of publication *in extenso*.

The following is the Memorial of the Hindus. It was drawn up at the house of Bissumber Pandit, ‡ and presented by Rattau Singh, Rajput, on November 20th 1809.

"We, all the Brahmins, Cuttries and persons of Byse and Sooder castes, beg to lay before the English a representation of the past, present and future, in order that it may be received with mature circumspection and our existence as a people preserved. It is this—

We, every sect of the Hindu persuasion, have emigrated from all parts of the country to this place, for our religion tells us that Casheejee (Benares) is a spot eminent beyond all others for its religious purity and a place of worship and adoration. It is here that

The places selected by Mr. Duncan for the purpose on the four sides of the city, Cholera Tallaub, Lullapara, the old fort and Rewree Tallaub; and it is certainly advisable that the restriction should now be rigidly enforced. An infringement of the Regulation respecting shambles or any other of the rules laid down in Regulation XXII. of 1795, for which no specific penalty is declared, I should of course consider as a misdemeanor punishable by fine and imprisonment at discretion under the general powers vested in the Magistrate. But it would clearly be preferable that an express provision should be made to constitute into a

misdemeanor punishable by the Magistrate the slaughter of cattle for beef in any other than the prescribed places, at least openly and with the intention of offering a wanton violence to the feelings of the Hindus. If indeed a breach of every other rule without a penalty prescribed in Regulation XXII. 1795, was expressly declared punishable as a misdemeanor it would be attended with advantage. A restriction unsupported by an adequate penalty on the infringement of it is not easily enforced.

‡ B. P. died suddenly in January before the trials came on.

according to the Beyds, Poorans and Shastras, the gods have always fixed their residence, and the Hindu inhabitants of the place have invariably performed with sincere hearts Their devotional ablution and worship to the four Deymuto (Divinities), viz., Seree Bissey-sur jeo,¹ The Ganges, Unpoorna jeo², and Kaul Bhy-roo,⁴ Koolust hum jeo. According to the tenets of the Beyds, Poorans, and Shasters, we Hindus have thus acted from the creation and are still fixed in our true faith.

After the destruction of the power of the Hindu Rajahs a Mahommedan Government ruled for many centuries, and this place was subject to the Royal Authority at Delhi. None of the Musalman Emperors interfered with our places of worship till the reign of Aurungzebe Alumgeer, whose rigid zeal leading him for the sake of his religion to injure in no slight degree the Hindu places of worship; he began to introduce his own system by engrafting it on the temples of the Hindus.

When he came to Benares, considering (as it would seem) the places of our Deymuto as pure and august, he erected a mosque on the site of the Temple of Bissey-sur. As kings in their divine wisdom are mindful of religion, he knew that the supplications of those who err are acceptable only from places like these, and he laid the foundation of his mosques on the ruins of many of the Hindu temples. As he was a powerful and mighty monarch we from necessity submitted with patience.

"The anger of a mendicant retorts upon himself."

The Musalmans have now violated our religion. The story is this—

On Monday, the 16th of Cooar, corresponding with the 28th Shaban 1217 fussily (9th of October 1809), many of the Hindus of Benares went to make their offerings at Cuppeeladhara³ to the manes of their deceased relatives, a duty incumbent on those whom the departed have left behind. On that day the Musalmans slaughtered a cow in Mehullah Naugnauth⁵. It so happened that a Luheyra (a worker in Lac) was on the spot; seeing this outrage he mentioned it to the Ruttun Singh Choudry, who told it to his father. Ruttun Singh perceived that in concealing it the Hindu religion must be suppressed. Ten or twelve creditable persons went to the Kotwal of the city. They did not meet with the Kotwal of the city, and told the story of the slaughter of the cow to the Kotwal's

¹ and ² contiguous to each other near the centre of the city.

³ The Lat of Bhyroo in the suburbs, which has been destroyed.

(a)—Cuppeeladhara.—Situatd in Pergunnah Cuttey on the other side of the Burua Nullah, about three

coss from the city.

(b)—Naugnauth. Under the jurisdiction of the subordinate Police Chubootra of Cazeo Mundee within the city. This Mohullah is chiefly inhabited by Musalman julahars.

Mootsuldee who wrote to the Thanawallah, and the person who slaughtered the cow was apprehended. The Kotwal released him, expressed displeasure at the persons who made the complaint and paid it no attention. We determined amongst ourselves that, as the court was then closed, a petition should be presented to the *Huzoor* after the *Bijjaee Dussmee* and *Burrup Millaup*, which happened on Thursday, 26th of *Cooar*, corresponding with 9th *Rumzaun* 1217 (19th October 1809) were passed. On the day following, namely, Friday, the 27th (20th October), the *suffeed bafs* (weavers), at the instigation of the principal Musalmans, assembling in a body went to the *Lât* of *Bhyroonauth jee* made a disturbance; beat the *Jogees* of the *Lât*, rooted out a *chowra* (stand) which contained a *Toolsee* tree as also the idol of *Hunooman*, &c., defiled the whole of the place and committed outrages, which it is highly indecorous consistent with our religion to mention. After these improprieties had been committed they returned to their homes. In the evening several Hindus went according to their usual custom to pay their devotions at the place and saw that the whole was filth, that the idols were broken and the place of worship entirely spoilt. They asked the *Jogees* who were there, who had spoilt the place? The *Jogees* related circumstantially what had passed. The Hindu overwhelmed with grief, distracted with astonishment, and pained to the quick, returned back. On reaching home they deliberated thus among themselves. "We were seeking justice for the slaughter of a cow: this other flower has blown."

It was then night, and they rose and exclaimed "Doohaye" in every *Mohullah*. They poured forth their complaint and vociferated. "Oh! Hindus, in this way have the Musalmans been beforehand in oppression, but every Hindu who is true to his faith unite in the morning surround the *Lât* of *Bhyroojee* and see the violence which the Musalmans have done." On the morning of Saturday, the 28th *Cooar* (21st of October), the Hindus accordingly began to assemble and met to the number of two or three hundred with grief and lamentation. On receiving intelligence of this the Kotwal came on horseback to the spot with 200 *Chuprassies* and *Sawars* and required the Hindus to disperse. Fearful of their honour many of them took their way to the city, and the Kotwal took his seat on the *Chubbootra* at the *Lât* and sent word for a few of the Hindus to come to him, and that he would hear what they had to represent. They obeyed the order of the *Hakim*, and *Ruttun Singh Choudry* and others, altogether four persons, went to the Kotwal, who without making any enquiries took them with him to the *Thanah* at *Cazee Mundree* and beat them. As thousands of Musalmans were assembled in the *Imambarra*, and the Hindus, with exception of *Ruttun Singh*, &c., to the

number of two hundred remained, they began to pelt each other. In this mutual attack part of the Jauli of the Imambarra was broken and our Deynuto (Divinities) received some injury. The Kotwal on hearing this immediately came to the spot, gave notice by proclamation that not a man of the Hindus should remain, turned out the *chuprassies*, posted a guard of Musalman peons, and gave it to be understood that the Musalmans were going to the temple of Bisseysur jee and would commit violence there. On hearing this, the Hindus reflecting, that from the former neglect, the images of their Deymutto had been broken and rooted out, in order that a similar outrage might not be committed at the Bisseysur, and injury heaped upon injury, all at once ran off and reached the Bisseysur. The Musalmans finding the place clear were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity it afforded. At this period Zeynoo, a *mochee* (shoemaker and saddler) who keeps a shop in the Bhyroonauth bazaar, Seikh Hussein of Tilliah nullah, an attendant on the prince, Shureef Moghul, in the service of His Royal Highness, and Cazeer Dunna joined the mob which was headed by Dost Mahomed, Hingun Chijjoo, Cootub, Fauzil Bullee, Dhunsee, Noor Mahomed, Khan Mahomed, Peearee, Hussein, Domun, Ohehauboodeen (13 persons) and other Mehtoots of Aodhpoora, and with the support and advice of the principal persons of their persuasion, they commenced a disturbance. They accordingly collected large quantities of food, oil and dammer, and having rubbed the Lát from the top to the bottom with spirits and gun-powder, set fire to the whole, and *bhishtees* who came from different quarters sprinkled the pillar with water. It has been ascertained that the Lát notwithstanding all these attempts, did not fall till they sprinkled it with the blood of a cow and her young, which they got from a *baugh* and dragged, tied by the neck, to the spot. On this outrage the *chucker* on the Bhyroo Lát jee spun round and tumbled and the Lát burst and fell to the ground. They cast the cow which they had slaughtered into the tank of Kapilmochun which is near the Lát and completely defiled it. Such was the persecution imposed by a set of uorbeafs (Weavers) of mean extraction at the instigation of the Musalmans of rank and a tyranny unknown to Aurungzebe Alungeer himself was practised by this vulgar race.

We, the Hindus, being informed of what had happened went all night from house to house vociferating, exclaiming, and beating our breasts till it was day. It was (a morning which for us was like to the last day) on Sunday, the 29th of Coor, 22nd October, that the flame of dissension had become general, and the principal persons amongst the Hindus as Brahmins, bankers, and others felt alarm as to what might be the pleasure of God and what was to happen. When this was known to the English,

Mr. Bird immediately came with other gentlemen, and day and night labouring to restore order and safety to the city and to pacify the Hindus; went about from ward to ward and from temple to temple.

The Brahmins, Pundits and 10 sects of Gosains; the Rajpoots Gungapootras and Ghauties, 36 castes of Hindus, had seated themselves on the bank of the Ganges, and with a two days' fast supplicated the Creator of the world for redress. Thousands of them had abstained from food altogether, when Mr. Bird, being informed of the penance they had imposed on themselves, went in clemency and compassion to console them, and with assurances of redress and justice desired them to break their fast and eat; all obeying the order rose and ate their food. The doors of the Bisseysur, Unpoorna, Caulbhyroo and all the shops in the bazaar were shut; after satisfying the people man by man he had them opened, got all to take food, and told them to present a statement of their grievances to him in writing.

He regretted that there was so much to lament and deprecate, and observed that such things had perhaps never before occurred, but desired us to rest satisfied that justice would be done us and attention paid to our wishes. We conformed to his direction and agreed to submit a statement in writing, which we now present accordingly with the following views.

From the personal bigotry of Aurungzebe Alumgeer, mosques were erected on the site of our place of worship; the four principal are * Bisseysur and Gyanbaffi † Kirrit Baseysur; ‡ Bindho or Beynee Madho; § Caul Bhyro Koolusthum. That emperor in his zeal introduced his religion in common with ours at these places.

It is prayed that these may be restored to us for the purposes of our worship; and we Hindus, by the favor of the English, confirmed as heretofore in the exercise of our religion, that we may

* The old temple at Bisseysur on the ruins of which the present mosque was erected in the reign of Aurungzebe Alumgeer. Part of this temple was left which projects from the back of the mosque. The present temple of Bisseysur is contiguous to the mosque and separated from it only by a compound wall.

† A small mosque built in the reign of Mahomed Shah is situated here. There is a fountain in the centre of the same architecture as the mosque. On the anniversary of the Shiv Rattree (13th of Pha-

goon) the whole body of Hindus visit this fountain for the purpose of pooja in common with the other sacred places.

§ The mosque with the famous minarets is erected here. The present temple of the idol is at a short distance to the eastward of the mosque.

4. The Lát which has been destroyed. The ground about which was taken for the Eedgah and other religious purposes by the Musalmans under the Mahomedan Government.

pray for the eternal prosperity of the English and the mutual differences which night and day subsist in regard to those places, be adjusted.

That the Musalmans be not allowed to come to the places of worship, or to kill cows, or for recreation and pleasure to pass along the roads frequented by the Hindus in order that by this method a line may be distinctly drawn between us. You are yourself the distributor of justice and are acquainted with the Bheys Poorauns and Shaster. Let such measures be adopted as may fix and confirm the Hindu religion, establish a certain rule in future and adjust all differences.

The English Company, may its prosperity be perpetual, as the sovereign of Hindoostan, give ear to the complaint of us who are poor and helpless. If the Musalmans enjoy strength and power for war and combat, let them look to the Caaba and Curbulla the true places of their worship. It is but lately, as all the world knows, that a sect of their own, the Mohaubies attacked the Caaba, made a general massacre in their holy city, rooted up the tombs and monuments of their prophets and their imams, and plundering property by crores, carried it off as spoil. Allee Nukee Khan, the vakeel of the late Ibrahim Allee Khan, resided there with his family and with his women and children was put to death. Let them go there and wage war with the destroyer of their race, let them seek retribution for the blood of their own tribe, and in support of their faith kill the enemies and murderers of their brethren and be killed themselves. The fame of their attachment to their faith will be thus spread throughout the world, and they may restore their dilapidated tombs and Imambarrahs. By their constant dissensions with us poor creatures they vainly injure their own hopes in the next world, and only harass us. You are the ruling power, put a stop to this violence. By the favour of Bisseysur jee, you are the supporter of the poor and subduer of the oppressive; punish the oppressors for this outrage to prevent similar oppression hereafter, and leave them not with the power of persecuting. The violence sustained at the hands of these short-sighted Musalmans was not once practised under the administration of the Mahommedan Emperor. It has occurred under the Government of the English Company renowned for its active goodness. It is known that in other parts of Hindostan no security is afforded; the people of Gujrat, the Dekhan and elsewhere, sensible of the security afforded here and of the British regard for justice flock to this place by hundreds of thousands, and with the utmost confidence bring with them their families and property and find rest. Even now that we suffer injury and hardship from the outrage which has been committed, we implore Providence to preserve the British

name and character and put the enemies of the Government to disgrace and shame*.”

The following is the “humble Memorial of the whole body of Musalmans to His Lordship.” It was presented on November 27th, 1809.

The country of Hindoostan has for many centuries been the seat of the true faith. The city of Benares, a small spot thereof, was held sacred by the Hindus. As they were all resigned to the faith, and true to their sovereign, they met with tolerance and continued to exercise the needful rites pertaining to their religion. From the time of the late Nawab, Sufder Jung, when the province was granted to the Hindu chieftains, they also submitted to Mahomedanism. Since the accession of the English Government both parties have enjoyed the free exercise of their respective religious opinions, and the administration of justice, especially in criminal matters, has been regulated by the holy (Mahommedan) law.

The rebellious, murderous and riotous conduct of Rajpoots of the Mohullahs of Daranuggur, Peeree and Hurha at the period of the expulsion of Cheit Singh, and in the time of Mr. Thomas Graham, in conjunction with an inspector who personated the Bhao, and in the time of Mr. Markham when they got the Noorbaafs (weavers) to join their party, is universally known. It was the same in Vazier Allee's riot, when the Rajpoots of these Mohullahs raised in the course of a *puhir* (3 hours English) several thousand men for his support, and the city was preserved only from massacre and plunder by the timely arrival of the Government troops. It was these Rajpoots also who filled the city with *baunkas* and intestine broils.

The practice of killing cattle for beef has been habitual from the first dawn of Mahomedanism in the city. It was not hindered or prohibited, though the province of Benares was held and governed by Hindu chiefs. Even at Madho Dass' garden, which is within the circle of the Unturgurhee, as long as the English resided there it was constantly done, and nobody thought of forbidding it.

For three years the Dusseyrah and Mohurram occurred at the same period with each other; Mr. Duncan restrained the Hindus from celebrating the festival of the Dusseyrah till the

* The above memorial was drawn out in “Sanskrit, Bhaka and Persian” and was signed by 5,675 persons, 362 of whom were persons of note. “Banking houses of Brahmans, Chuttries, Byse and Soodra castes, 39;” *Bāsausies* (sellers of cloth) and Koojruttee, Mahaujans of Lahore and Mooltan,

30;” *Brahmans*, Mahrattas, 19; Nau-gurs, 39; Gungapootras 22; Chowbeys and Tiwares, 11; Saursoots, 19; Bangalies, 19; *Chuttries*, 32; Gosains, 132. Neither the Benares Rajah nor any of his relatives signed the memorial.

Mohurram was over, by which arrangement peace and quiet were preserved. Whilst that gentleman was in power, there was a Mahratta who wished to appropriate a part of the compound of the mosque of Bebee Ranjey: the Musalmans met and remonstrated. An affray ensued in which an idol was destroyed; the Rajpoots assembled to breed a riot, and it ended in Mr. Duncan preventing the Mahratta from erecting the building he proposed, and Mr. Lumsden, to render the public authority complete, punished those who appeared to have been instrumental to the disturbance. For three years the Hooly and Mohurram happened together. By the arrangement made by Mr. Stuart for preventing dancing and the other festivities common on the former occasion the Hindus were restrained during the Mohurram, and tranquillity was preserved.

The injury which the faithful have now suffered at the hands of the Gosains, Rajpoots and other Hindus, who, in violation of established rules and in direct subversion of public order and authority, have sacked the houses of several hundred innocent persons and massacred many, is fully known to the presence. For the purpose, however, of obtaining justice, we beg to submit a distinct narration of what the Musalmans have suffered.

In the suburbs to the eastward of the city of Benares, within the compound of an Eedgah, stood a pillar (Laut) of considerable antiquity which the Musalmans suppose to have been the structure of Feroze Shah, like the pillar (Laut) at Allahabad, Dehli and other places, and which the Hindoos state to have been erected by their own forefathers. But, be that as it may, it was not as an object of their worship entitled to any great veneration like the temples of Bisseysur and Bhyronauth; for no account of this pillar is to be found in any of their orthodox books. The style of worship of the Hindus is this, wherever they find set up (a pillâr) they call it, at the incitement of their priests, a place of their worship, and after sometime has elapsed they consider it as a place of worship of the highest sanctity. The best is that about two and twenty years ago some Hindoos corrupted Meer Khyraut Allee, the Mutwali (superintendent), of the Jumma Musjid of Alumgeer, commonly called the Bisseysur mosque, and pretending that Bisseysur had concealed himself in the well, they began to worship the well,* and shared the offerings with the Mutwali. In the same way they worship with the utmost faith a stone fountain† in the compound of the mosque at the

* Called Geeanbafee or Gyaunuafee in the Hindu memorial.

† It is this mosque and fountain which the Hindoos in their memorial

state to have been erected on the site of Kirrit Bisseysur. The mosque appears from the inscriptions on it to have been built by orders of the

house of Sheikh Hautim Allee in Mohullah Daranugur. So also was the Laut of Feroze Shah converted by them into the Laut of Bhyroo and the lower order of Hindus worshipped it.

A Laut was erected by Mr. Boddum at Gya it is just now only a thing for the pilgrims to revere and the priests to make money of; but when all the persons who are acquainted with the fact are dead it will be honored with the name of Mahdeo or Brahma. It is just so at Benares. The mosques which are built by Aurungzebe are called by the Hindus one, the mosque of Bisseysur and another the mosque of Madho Roy. For some years the lower classes of Hindoos and Mussulmans have annually celebrated the marriage of the Laut, and have divided the offerings between them. Near the Laut of the Eedgah there is a *peepul* tree, and under this tree the Hindus put some idols and made it a place of their idolatry.

When the Musalmans gathered together for the purposes of prayer at the Eed, &c., the Brahmins on the spot remove the idols. If there happened to be any which could not be conveniently taken away they were carefully concealed with grass. The faithful on the day of the Eed used to perform the sacrifice there and never met with any interruption from the Hindoos. It is not long ago that under a tree, the Brahmins spoken of put a tiled *chopper* to shade an idol and called it a place of worship. The Musalmans objected to it at the time, and brought their complaint before the Adaulut; but it so happened that it was never determined, and the tiled *chopper* was not destroyed. The Hindoos, considering this as a victory, proceeded to greater enormities, and they last year, on one of the days of the Dusseyrah, put a Ram Luchmun into the mimber (pulpit) of the Eedgah; went through ceremonies of that, fasted, trampled the place in their shoes, and spit about it. This year they were for three days guilty of the same disrespect; but the Musalmans reverence the Government, said nothing, and allowed it to lay over for a formal complaint to the court. In every sense the Hindoos are the original aggressors. Besides all this, a Naugur lately collected a number of bricks and stones for the purpose of making a stone temple within the compound of the Eedgah. The Musalmans objected, but the Hindoos paid no attention to their remonstrances, and the materials collected by the Naugur are still on the spot. The Noorbeafs (Musalman weavers) who came as usual to Friday prayer at the Eedgah after

Emperor Mahomed Shah at the solicitation of Moofiti Nooroollah in the year 1077 Hijree, on the ruins of a *Bhoothkhana* (temple of idolatry), the last Sheikh Hautim Allee was a lineal descendant of Moofiti Nooroollah; the

entrance to his house is through the door of the compound of the mosque.

‡ The mosque with the famous minarets named Bindho Madhoo in the Hindu memorial.

prayers, were over, consulted about the complaint that was to be made respecting the erection of the temple.

The Hindoos say that some of them committed indignities such as removing the *toolsee* tree, &c. If this be true, the crime was certainly not of a very heinous nature; and had the Hindoos complained of it to the regular authority the offenders would have been punished. It is for the punishment of offenders, and that people may not take vengeance on each other, that courts are established. Several Hindoos, in opposition to this established rule of Government, assembled at night, proceeded to the Eedgah, and broke the door of the Mimber. Though this itself was a flagrant outrage they did not stop here. In the morning they assembled in a riotous manner at the Laut assaulted and stoned a Syud traveller who was reading the Koran till they had nearly deprived him of life, and tearing the holy Koran to pieces scattered it about the road, when the *Kotwal* arrived and by mild exhortation succeeded in dispersing them. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the *Kotwal* the Hindoos again assembled at the Laut, insulted people as they passed along, proceeded to the Imambarrah in the vicinity of the Laut, and tore the pall (*ghilaufl*) to pieces, broke and destroyed the frill work (*jaully*) of the doorways, and stone *chubootrahs*, the lanterns, the consecrated Kuddum Shurreef* and Punjab Shurreef† and a great many tombs. A party of them afterwards proceeded with mischievous intent, towards the Durgah of the Punjahi Shurreef, which is to the westward of the city.‡ On the occurrence of this event a rabble assembled, moved towards the temple of Bisseysur, which is situated in the city. They were attacked near Gayaghat by the Hindoos, and one man was killed and several wounded. These low people (who are not of a description to bear arms) finding that they had not the power to proceed further into the city retreated, and, rallying at the Laut of the Eedgah, in return for the indignities committed at the Imambarrah, &c., destroyed the Laut. When this was known the acting magistrate again came in person with a party of officers and Hindoo troops, took measures for the general safety, posted guards in different places, and gave assurances of justice to both parties. The Noorbeafs (weavers) who were assembled at the Imambarrah for its protection, did as they were directed, and returned to their homes. The court was still open to complaint but not a man of the Hindoos chose to avail himself of it and they prepared for riot. The Rajpoots of the Mohullahs of Peeree, Hurha, Darranuggur, Cazeer Mundeer, Bhargawajee Tola, Publam

* An impression of the Prophet's Allee on a stone.
foot on a marble slab. † At the Fatimann.

† An impression of the hand of

Ghat, &c., and the Gosains and other disorderly persons among the Hindoos in every Mohallahs, urged on by Sustee, Budlgo Ramdeal, Lalchund and other officers of police, during the whole night incited the people in every street and lane to insurrection and made them swear by their religion that it was grievous, and that every man would leave his home and take "vengeance on the Musalmans." Influenced by this incitement and oath, they poured forth in troops and gangs and filled the city with desolation and plunder; every man whom they met was murdered.

The Imambarrah was re-attacked by a band who sacked and pillaged it of sacred relics which cannot be regained. Its buildings were pulled down and burnt with the property they contained.

The blood of a hog was sprinkled in the Imambarrah and they massacred some travellers. They burnt the private dwellings of the Noorbaafs and despoiled them of their property. They exposed women; some women and children they put to death, and cut others down with swords. Many innocent men who took no part whatever in the disturbance were killed and wounded by the Hindoos and pillaged of their property.

The like atrocities were committed by the Hindoos at the Royal Jumma Musjid in Mohallah Bisseysur, by fire and sword. The mosque was ravaged, the minarets were thrown down; property was plundered and burnt; the buildings round the mosque were reduced to ashes; the artisans who inhabited them were deprived of life, and the child of the Mutwali (superintendent) of the mosque was wounded, though his life was saved by a Brahmin who was rewarded for the act.

They pulled down and destroyed upwards of 60 Musjids and broke up hundreds of tombs; every man whom they met with a beard they took for a Musalman and killed. The Gosains sacked hundreds of private dwellings; when they had taken up the property they set fire to the buildings, and every one found in them they slew. They ran about in armed bodies for the purpose of murder and plunder, and a large party of them went to pull down the Punjab Shurreef and the Prince's Muzzar to the westward of the city. At this juncture the acting magistrate arrived with troops; they fired and a Rajpoot of Peeree who headed the mob was killed. The rioters went off with the body, and wherever they happened to find the house of a butcher, tailor, bhistee or other Musalman tradesman they plundered and set fire to it. The acting magistrate and military officers engaged in suppressing the disturbance were purposely misled by the Hindu *chuprassies* and informers, and some of them gave intelligence to the rioters, who by that means were enabled to take a different route. The principal

Musalmans, from respect to the Government, kept their doors closed and remained quiet; though matters got to that length that the rioters spread a report that the Prince had poisoned himself, and the Hindus reversing the real state of things informed the English that the Musalmans had committed violence. Every poor and helpless person whom they met in the streets they killed or wounded. A *fauquir*, who was quite blind, had his nose cut off. Like robbers they stript the jewels from the persons of the women. From their acts it seems clear that the Hindus, under a pretended regard for their religion, were in reality resolved, from worldly avarice, to murder and rob the Musalmans. They reduced many hundreds of houses to ashes and gained for themselves many lakhs of rupees. If in support of their religion they sought vengeance the destruction of the Imambarrah, which they had already accomplished, was complete; if their object was the effusion of blood, they would have directed their havoc and slaughter against those who had destroyed the Laut and not have plundered and robbed the whole body of Musalmans in the city who had no connection whatever in the licentiousness of the persons who aimed at its destruction. They murdered the innocent, though the Noorbaafs and other Musalmans, after witnessing the injury done to the Imambarrah, with the exception to the destruction of the Laut (which was in fact not an object of Hindu worship, and at all events be it what it might it was common to both parties) did not extend the hand of rapine to their impure property. The murderous excesses therefore which were committed by the Hindus can be attributed only to a lust for robbery and plunder: some of the Hindus also took that opportunity of gratifying their private resentment and killed and wounded each other.

Dissension has ever subsisted between the Hindus and Musalmans; public order is maintained by the wisdom of the rulers.

Let it be first seen to which of the two parties the aggression is attributable, which of the two have been always obedient and faithful to the Government, and which rebellious. 2nd.—Let it be ascertained which party kept up the disturbance and stood out against Government, in the attempt to suppress it. 3rd.—By what party all the atrocious acts of violence were committed. 4th.—What number of persons on the part of the Musalmans and what number of the Hindus were killed and wounded, and in what mode and under what circumstances.

5th. How many houses were burnt, to what party they belonged, and what property was plundered. 6th. How many Musjids were injured, and what number of Hindoo temples destroyed.

7th. How many tombs were broken up and in what Mohul-

lahs. 8th. which of the parties constantly go armed and are habitual breakers of the peace. 9th. On which side men of rank and consequence afforded their aid and support. 10th. which party was aided, and on what side were the minds of the people inflamed by the public officers of Government.

11th. When the lower order of Musalmans put fire to the Laut, there were Hindoos also; how it happened that they did not extinguish the fire and preserve the Laut from destruction, for it is inconceivable that persons who were strong enough to rebel against the authority of Government, to put to death hundreds of innocent persons, to destroy the Imambarrah and hundreds of tombs and royal Musjids, to burn, plunder and pillage private dwellings, and to oppose the Government troops, should be too weak to preserve a principal place of worship from the ravages of hundred or couple of hundred unarmed men? 12th. Let it be observed that this dispute arose without the city, between the Hindoos and Noorbaafs of Audhopore, the latter of whom were accused of breaking up a *toolsee* tree, &c. But the Hindoos massacred and plundered the Musalmans of the whole city, many of whom kept their homes and some of them were travellers who had no participation in the matter, and had not even heard of it. There is no crime in the eye of the law so great as massacre and arson. We, who are the sufferers, have no refuge except under the shadow of justice and our wrongs have not yet been redressed.

It is therefore prayed that the memorial of us sufferers, who from the period of the Company's accession have been obedient, and loyal subjects be laid before the Government, ever ready to redress our wrongs, and there is no doubt that on a review of the facts above recited, the persons who destroyed the Laut will be punished and the Rajpoots, Gosains, Naugurs Jautees, and other Hindoo sects and others who indiscriminately robbed and massacred the whole body of Musalmans, destroyed Musjids and tombs, and offered a violation to our religion which it never before suffered, will be rendered liable to punishment and *Kissas*, and that exemplary notice will be taken of the dishonour cast upon the Musalmans who had no concern whatever in the dispute. It is prayed that the ancient Musjids and the tombs, and the sacred places which have been broken down and burnt, be rebuilt and repaired from the property of the oppressors and plunderers, their aiders and abettors; and that restitution for the loss of sacred relics, and the pillage of private property in the city, which is consonant to justice and the established rules of Government, be awarded to us; for the known equity of the British Government which we have ever experienced affords the fullest confidence that on the occurrence of events so replete with

iniquity, more than ordinary solicitude, in promoting the ends of justice and punishing the guilty will mark the deliberative wisdom of Government, that the spots within the precincts of Musjids which the Hindoos, contrary to fact pretend to call their places of worship, such as the well * of the mosque of Alumgeer, the house † of Sheikh Hatim Allee, with compound of the Eed-gah, with the Laut ‡ of Feroz Shah ; and, which from the avarice of the ignorant Mutwalee of the faithful they have for some time frequented for the purpose of *Pooja*, be prohibited to them, in order that a stop may be put to the dissensions which must constantly arise from participation of the Hindoos.

16th "Showaul 1224 Hijree", corresponding with 25th November 1809."

The above memorial was presented by Mir Torab Ali and signed by 724 persons, 105 of whom were accounted individuals of note.

* Called in the Hindoo memorial
Gianbaafee.

† Ditto. Kirrit Busseysur.

‡ Ditto. Caul Bhyro Koolusthum.

PHIL. ROBINSON.

ART. V.—THE VALLEY OF THE INN.

I.—THE ENGADIN.

AMONG the sanatoria of Europe few have had a more rapid growth or have attained greater popularity than the Upper Engadin. When one recalls the throng of visitors who annually crowd its hotels one would hesitate to offer a description of a place apparently so widely known if one were not sure that there are many to whom the names of even its head-quarters, St. Moritz and Pontresina are unfamiliar. It is beyond question, one of the most invigorating of European sanatoria and as its dry and bracing air is specially beneficial to those who have felt the ill-effects of a damp and relaxing climate, some account of it may not be unwelcome in a Calcutta periodical.

The name "Engadin" is applied to the Swiss or upper portion of the valley of the Inn, which lies within the canton Graubünden (Grisons) and has a length of about 65 miles (18-19 stunde). Its height above the sea varies from 5,940 feet at the Maloja to 3,342 feet at Martinsbrück. It is shut in by formidable mountains, but these have been pierced by no less than seven excellent post roads. Three of these start from Chur and are the most convenient for travellers from England as Chur can be reached from London, *via* Ostend and Basel, in 36 hours.

Chur, the *Curia Rhetorum* of the Romans, well repays the traveller who halts in it for a few days. It is a quaint old town hanging on the hill sides at the mouth of the Plessur and overlooking the broad valley of the Rhine. It is a Protestant town but the upper part, the Acropolis, as we may call it, is Catholic. This is surrounded by a wall, within which stand the Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace. This cathedral has a special interest for Englishmen from its association with the British King Lucius, after whom it is named and who was murdered near Chur by the heathen of his day and afterwards canonized. His sister Emerita shared the same fate and received the same honours. The church dates from the eighth century and contains many objects of interest. It is moreover in charge of an enthusiastic sacristan, an excellent guide, who regards his work as custodian of so many treasures as a "holy duty." In the sacristy are, amongst other documents, charters bearing the signatures of Charlemagne and his sons, and some fragments of silk of the time of Justinian. The choir is of singular construction, resting upon arches, which spring from a single central column. In it is a finely carved wood high altar, on which amongst others are statues of English,

Scotch, and Irish missionary saints. Angelica Kauffmann was born at Chur and there is here a picture from her hand painted when a mere girl. There are other pictures by Cranach, Holbein, and Durer. In the south aisle is a fine porphyry tomb, executed under the personal direction of its occupant Bishop Ortlieb von Brandis (1494). Recumbent upon it is his stately figure in stole and mitre. His face, which recalls that of our Elizabeth, is remarkably handsome, the keen-cut features bear no impress of pietism or of sensuality; they are those of an aristocratic Pagan. One could imagine that with somewhat less of license in his words he gave instructions as fastidious as those with which his Right Reverend Brother ordered his tomb in St. Praxéd. In the same aisle are several Moorish arches, which are possibly not so unaccountable as the good Sacristan thinks if a recent writer on the Engadin is correct (Dr. F. M. Ludwig), who supposes that Pontresina is a corruption of Pons Saracenus and that this points to a Moorish occupation. These are a few of the curiosities of the Church of St. Lucius; those who are inclined for a pilgrimage to his chapel should ascend the wooded hillside on the right bank of the Plessur where, if by nothing else, they will be rewarded by a fine view.

The three roads which lead from Chur into the Engadin are the Julier, the Albula and the Flüela. On them diligences ply daily and private carriages are also always to be hired in which the journey can be made leisurely and with more comfort. The Julier and the Albula are identical as far as Lenz. Here the Albula diverges to the left and passing through the wonderful defile of the Bergün Stein enters the Engadin at Ponté. The Julier route descends to Tiefenkasten, well-named the Deep Castle, where the ascent towards the Julier Pass commences. This road dates from very ancient times; on the summit of its pass there are two pillars of grey granite, which are commonly believed to be milestones of Roman origin, though another tradition says that they are the remains of an altar to the Keltic god Júl. The Julier is undoubtedly the finest approach to the Engadin on account of the magnificent view of the valley obtained from it. By it and by the Albula, St. Moritz may be reached in some twelve hours. Instead of taking the direct road from Chur to Tiefenkasten many travellers prefer to make a *détour* to Tifflis and the Via Mala, and from Thusis to cross the imposing Schyn Pass and rejoin the Julier or Albula at Tiefenkasten.

The Flüela route is the shortest between Chur and the Engadin; it passes through Davos, a sanatorium in high repute for consumptive patients, to Sús.

On the opposite side of the valley two roads lead from the south, the Bernina which affords magnificent snow, views and

runs from Tirano in the Valteline to Pontresina and Samaden, and the Ofener Pass road which traverses a district of the wildest scenery from Méran, by the Münster Thal to Zernetz. A sixth road leads from Chiavenna through Bergell to the extraordinary Maloja Pass and enters the Engadin at its head. It joins the post road which runs through the length of the valley to Martinsbrück where it meets the military road from the Fjosternüz Pass and Tirol, the seventh place of ingress to the Engadin.

The Engadin is divided into Upper and Lower, each having its local Government and each its distinctive natural features. The Upper Engadin is flat, with an average width of a mile and a half. In it, between the Maloja and St. Moritz, lies a chain of lakes of peculiar beauty of color. Their deep clear waters have the mingling greens and blues of peacock plumage, and redeem by their wonderful tints a landscape otherwise too stern to charm. The surrounding mountains are extremely desolate; with the exception of Piz Margna, they are too steep to allow the snow to rest on their seamed and barren sides. Fir forests gird their feet and struggle in narrowing columns, warped by the bitter winds, towards their summits; maimed and stunted they testify to the severity of winters which are popularly estimated as of nine months duration. In these forests is a large number of the rare arva (*pinus cembra*), the red-wooded arctic pine, with grey-green foliage and large nut-yielding cones. Except the hardier pines and firs there are no trees and there is no cultivation. Tradition says indeed that a cherry once ripened in a garden at Campfer and we ourselves have seen a potato patch near the same sheltered village; but these must have been exceptional favours of exceptional years. The season for visitors lasts through the summer from the middle of June to the middle of September. It is a short summer, but it compensates for its brevity by intensifying its charms of fair weather and floral beauty. Nature has nothing more delicate and more profuse than her Alpine flower-world. In July the high pastures are enamelled with a thousand starry eyes; woods and rocks are vivid with the inimitable blue of gentians or the powdered pink of the Alpine rose; each brook has its forget-me-nots; a host of dainty flowers bloom and charm where but a few weeks past lay heavily the infertile snow. The summer climate is delightful, especially up to ten or eleven o'clock, when there is rarely any wind; the dry pure air with its edge of morning freshness is most exhilarating; a bright sun which does not blind and a clear sky without glare are in luxurious contrast both to London and Bengal. Between ten and eleven a daily recurring wind begins to blow up or down the valley, subsiding after a few hours. When it comes from the glaciers and snow-fields of the Maloja it is so keen that few new-comers can

bear exposure to it ; it is, however, said to be an important factor in producing the singularly dry air of the Engadin. Meteorological observations show an unusually high annual average of fine days. Our experience of St. Moritz, in this year (1876) is that in the first five weeks of our stay we had one morning of snow and two of rain—the afternoons and all the other days being perfectly clear and fine.

It is remarkable that at so great an elevation and in a region so unproductive as the Upper Engadin, there should be numerous villages. In the sixteen miles above St. Moritz there are five ; Camper, which being well sheltered, is a favourite place for lengthened residence ; Silva Plana, a busy posting town at the foot of the Julier Pass ; Sils Baselgia (the church village) and Sils Maria, the latter charmingly situated in the mouth of the glacier-encircled Fex-valley and Cadlag, a poor and weather-beaten village, near which the Inn enters the Engadin. Besides these there are several hamlets, Surlej, half ruined by the overflow of its torrent ; Isola, well-named from its lonely situation, and the group of houses at the summit of the Maloja Pass. Below St. Moritz again, in the broad level valley, is a close series of prosperous villages. First come Cresta and Cellerina separated only by a small but troublesome brook. In them is seen genuine Engadin architecture, the houses are large with thick walls and deep-set small windows, usually guarded by ancient and curiously wrought iron gratings. On several are seen the arms we are so frequently to meet again in our Engadin wanderings, of the principal Graubünden families, Planta and Salis. Many window sills are gay with flowers, the most generally cultivated being a fine pink carnation ; for these villages are considerably lower and much more sheltered than St. Moritz. Near Cellerina the Inn receives from the Bernina district a strong stream, the Flatz, grey and heavy with the mud of a great glacier region and it loses for ever the limpidity and azure tints of its upper stream. The next village is Samaden, the head-quarters of the Upper Engadin, wealthy and well-built, with a population of a little under seven hundred. Looking back from it there is a splendid view into the Flatz valley, and through its tributary valleys of Roseg and Morteratsch to the gigantic ice-peaks of the Bernina. In the middle distance rises Pontresina, less bracing than St. Moritz but surpassing it in the magnificence of its outlook. The foreground is prosaic—a level expanse of pasture interspersed by patches of stony or swampy ground and traversed by the high banks of two canals in which are restrained the unruly Inn and Flatz. Below Samaden again is Bevers at the mouth of a deep valley characterised by its still air and oppressive solitude ; by its broad patches of tall monkshood

and of gorgeous orange arnica.* Six miles lower is a group of three villages, within call of each other; Ponte, said to have the most inclement climate of the Engadin, is noted as being the first place where Protestantism was preached in the valley, and as being the scene of a battle between the French and Austrians in 1799, which was fought for six hours in snow six feet deep; Campo Vasto or Camogask and Madulein, overlooked by the ruins of the fortress Guardavall, concerning the destruction of which a romantic legend is preserved. To these succeed Zuz and Scaufs—the last village visible from St. Moritz and the ninth within the space of thirteen miles.

Most of the villages I have enumerated have their tale of summer visitors, some of them indeed seem to exist only for the reception of guests. The most frequented are St. Moritz and Pontresina each having its special clientèle; a roughly drawn line separating their visitors into invalids and mountaineers. St. Moritz, on account of its mineral springs and exceptionally bracing air, is *par excellence* a sanatorium; Pontresina, from its position, a centre for Alpine excursions. The village of St. Moritz occupies a remarkable situation in being higher than the summit of the Maloja Pass. It is a heterogeneous collection of old crowded houses and spacious new hotels and pensions. St. Moritz Bath is some 280 feet lower than the village; some people describe it as built in a swamp but this is incorrect although it is on the flat bottom of the valley at the level of the lake. Three huge and many smaller hotels and pensions receive its crowd of "cure-makers," the Kurhaus being almost exclusively frequented by continental foreigners, the others being used by numerous English.

The mineral waters of St. Moritz are of old repute; the first mention of the now so-called old spring is found in the writings of Paracelsus, who appears to have visited and examined it between 1525 and 1535. It is, however, only within the last half century that their present high tide of guests has set towards the Engadin and its springs. The waters resemble excellent seltzer water, and are very agreeable for drinking and for bathing. Their characteristic ingredients are carbonic acid and iron; they are said to be second only to Schwalbach in the degree of their iron impregnation. Early in the morning, by half-past six, the square in front of the Kurhaus is a scene of great activity, as this is the best time for making the "cure" and the best way of doing it is to alternate a glass of water with a brisk walk

* The peasantry have much faith in the healing virtues of this plant; they say that the chamois have also, and that before attempting a long jump they nibble the Arnica plant as an antidote against possible strains and bruises.

of ten minutes ; the duration of the process depending on medical orders. A band plays, the post comes in, there is much cheerful chat, and carriages and omnibuses pour in from adjacent villages bringing visitors to perform their morning duties. Drinking is followed by bathing, an enjoyable sedative to which the only drawback is the coffin-like aspect of the bath in which the patient is literally enclosed. It might be expected that the sight of so many people engaged in improving their health would be melancholy and dispiriting ; as a matter of fact few of the presumed invalids look ill, and one is spared the pathetic sights which sadden visitors to Davos, or to Buxton. Judging from appearances there are few "cure-makers" afflicted by severe illness, but many who are overworked and exhausted by mental or physical strain. For these the Engadin is an admirable physician. There are however two classes of people whom it does not suit—those who suffer from heart-disease and those who have the misfortune to be unusually stout.

The society of the Kurhaus, which is chiefly German, is sociable and genial ; *soirées dansantes* are held twice a week, there are not unfrequently professional concerts and other public entertainments, and there are always among the 300 guests many excellent amateur musicians, who are willing to contribute to the general enjoyment. Of any other hotels in St. Moritz I have no experience ; the Kulm in the village has an excellent reputation, but of all it must be said that they are not places in which to economise.

After a lengthened stay at an altitude so great as that of St. Moritz (6,087 feet) it is unadvisable to descend rapidly to a much lower level. In any one of several pleasant half-way houses, such as Poschiavo on the Bernina and Mühlen on the Julier, a halt of a few days can be agreeably made, but the most enjoyable method of avoiding a too sudden change of climate is to travel slowly down the Inn valley to Innsbruck, a route especially suited to returning Anglo-Indians who intend to embark at Venice. The distance, some 150 miles, can be accomplished by carriage in three days, but if the Engadin has done its work of restoration well, the best plan is to walk, a plan rendered feasible to even moderate pedestrians by the frequent succession of villages in each of which there is a, at least decent, post inn.

There is always some romance associated with flowing water ; there is a special charm in watching the growth of a stream whose tributaries hasten to it from high hanging glaciers, from lonely tarns, and from the solitudes of the "many folded hills." The route from the Upper Engadin to Innsbruck has this charm, it follows the Inn from its infancy in the barren highlands of the Maloja to the fertile fields and strong stream of its lower valley,

through a descent of 3,000 feet; a descent which entails great variety in vegetation, in the occupations of the people and in the character of their dwelling-places. It leads us across the sharply defined line between the Republicanism and tenacious Protestantism of the Engadin and the fervent loyalty and equally tenacious Catholicism of the Tirol. The scenery is beautiful throughout; the post roads are excellent, and there are in many places good village roads which can be taken in preference on account of their greater directness or beauty. The Engadiners speak Romansch, a dialect which has considerable affinity with Italian, but most of the younger people speak or understand German. In the Tirol, German, sometimes awkwardly disguised by provincialisms, is universal.

The Inn is an adopted child in the valley which becomes its home and in which it makes its appearance by dashing itself, a mere brooklet, over a precipice. Its birthplace is the small lake Longhino, difficult of access and remarkable as sending forth three streams to three different seas, the Inn which flows with the Danube to the Black Sea, a second which joins the Adda and flows to the Adriatic, and a third which flows with the Oberhalbstein tributary of the Rhine to the German Ocean. Within the first 16 miles of its course in the Engadin the Inn drains the four lakes already described, of Sils, Silvaplana, Campfer and St. Moritz, quitting the last by a picturesque fall. As far as Zuz its course is through broad and level meadows, but here the character of the scenery changes, the valley narrows and deepens, road and river sink into a fir-covered ravine, passing a group of houses which see no sun during three winter months, and shaded gullies where in September at the river's level still lies last year's snow. In the Lower Engadin, which is entered a little below Zuz, the villages are for the most part delightfully situated on sunny mountain shoulders and are connected by a village road running along the heights, when as is usual, the post road keeps the river side. The boundary between the Upper and Lower Engadin is a stream near Cinuschel, crossed by a bridge Puntauta (pons altus). It is said that when the Engadiners became Protestants, and wished to put away from them the symbols of their old faith, those living in this neighbourhood discussed the propriety of selling their pictures, images, &c, but decided that what was evil for them was evil for all and consequently threw their degraded treasures from the Puntauta into the stream below.

Following the river the next place of interest is Zernetz, built in a triangle at the junction of the Inn and the Spöl. The Spöl is a tumultuous and mischievous stream, which, pouring down from the Ofener Pass, doubles the volume of the Inn. Zernetz, like many a Swiss village, has been burnt down more than once.

It is still only half rebuilt after a fire in 1872, by which the church and a castle of the Planta family were almost the only buildings uninjured. Our inn here was rather primitive; a *grundstone* on the first floor and a ladder to reach the second are probably temporary arrangements, but the immediate neighbourhood of the hayloft to the best rooms is a permanent institution. The landlady could speak no German and consequently could not understand our congratulations on the preservation from the fire of her curious old homespun house linen, embroidered with red cotton and trimmed with lace of local manufacture—some of it dated 1834. Certainly if philology had not demolished the Tower of Babel it must long ago have fallen under the weight of the oburgations of travellers!

From Zernetz to Süs, in the early morning, the road is charming, pleasant with the perfume of pines, and gay with scarlet barberries. It passes near a secluded valley known as Baldiron's *Schlucht*, from its having been used as a place of refuge by fugitives from the persecution of the Austrian General, Baldiron, who seems to have acquired in the Engadin a reputation for cruelty equal to that of Claverhouse in Scotland. At Süs, the valley opens and is broken by low hills, planted with potatoes, barley and rye.

The grain was just ripe when we passed; the fields were cheerful with groups of workers; the oxen loosed from the carts were browsing the hedgerows in charge of children too young for any other service than to prevent furtive snatches at the scanty harvest; babies slept in the shade, and small boys and girls laughed and tumbled unchecked and in safety in dangerous places. Professor Theobald, a writer cordially recommended to all visitors to the Engadin, tells a good story of the wisely consideration of a lady of Süs. In 1555 there was here a destructive flood, by which the river bridge was carried away. At the moment of its fall the wife of a minister of the Swiss Reformed Church, named Cambell was in the act of crossing. She stood for some time on a broken beam, witness of the efforts made by her husband and friends for her rescue. Seeing that there was no hope of their success, with practical self-possession she loosed her keys from her girdle, flung them across the torrent to her husband, and was shortly afterwards carried away with the remnant of the bridge.

To Süs succeed three charmingly situated villages, Lavin (*Lavinium*) Guarda and Ardetz (*Ardea*); two of which are said to owe their origin and names to Roman colonists. Immediately on leaving Ardetz the road enters what we judged the most beautiful part of the beautiful Engadin. The lateral ranges retire; the valley is filled by high hills, some covered by well-grown larch-woods, others yellow with ripened grain or green with rich pasture; one is crested by Schloss Tarasp; on a high plateau

are the white houses of sunny Vulpera ; the river is lost in its deep channel ; the whole is bounded by huge mountains, some snowy, others grey and barren, in two places pierced by tributary valleys, the woody Val Plafna and the dark cleft of Val Clemigia. The traveller is not long allowed to enjoy this sunny landscape, down hastens the road into a chill shade by the river, and for several miles, keeps him in the noise of its grey rapids, only letting him escape when he has passed the sunless Kurhaus of Tarasp, which niched between the road and the river is almost as dismal a residence as the supremely dismal Bad Pfeffers. It is nevertheless much frequented on account of its mineral springs. The two principal sources are named after the British saints, honoured at Chur, Lucius and Emerita. It is not unusual for persons who have been drinking the waters of St. Moritz to complete their cure and break their descent at Bad Tarasp.

Two miles below the Kurhaus is Schuls, the chief town of the lower Engadin, enjoying from its upper portion a splendid view. In the valley bottom, on a high rock, is the church, a plain building standing in an untended grave-yard, crowded with unnamed graves. The only mound which bears any record is the burial place of a visitor, a Scotchman. This enclosure is of historical interest ; the people of Schuls tell with pride that their ancestors, men and women, valiantly defended it against the Austrians, and thus for some time kept a far superior force in check. Sunday in Schuls is a thorough holiday. At St. Moritz field work is continued on Sunday, possibly because the labourers are Catholics from the Valteline whose first care is to finish their contract work and return home. Sunday morning in Schuls showed empty fields and a general appearance of holiday ; a large congregation, the women almost all dressed in black, thronged to the church ; in the afternoon the market square and the numerous benches set "out-of-doors" in the streets were filled by gossiping groups of prosperous well-dressed peasants. Schuls receives a large number of summer visitors ; and as *on paie toujours*, must endure amongst its simple village houses the eyesores of two over-grown many-storied hotels and of an astonishing seven-storied Bakerei.

A quaint old inn, Zum Piz Chiampatrch still remains for discreet travellers who speak German and like to know something of Schuls and its people at first hand. Its host, Herr Könz, is well-informed and obliging ; he is the head of the local guides and can give all information about the numerous beautiful and interesting excursions of the neighbourhood. Part of his house, now disused as a residence, is of historic interest. From a small square hole, serving as a window, an old Swiss fired at Baidron as he came down with his adjutants from sacking Fettau. "If I kill him" he had said, "I do God's work." But Baidron wore arm-

our beneath his clothes, off which the ball glanced and left him unhurt to take a barbarous revenge on the unfortunate old patriot who had so misinterpreted the designs of Providence.

There are near Schuls several well-situated villages, the resort of those who wish to drink the Tarasp waters and to avoid the Kurhaus. Amongst these the most attractive on account of the beauty of its outlook is Fettan, three miles higher in the valley than Schuls and several hundred feet higher above the sea, on the left slope of the Inn valley. Its air is bracing and it has fair accommodation for a limited number of visitors. Between it and Schuls, under a hillock recognizable by its scorched vegetation, are several small apertures through which free carbonic acid is emitted. The quantity varies, being greatest in winter; we perceived none in the summer, but there were signs of its presence, a dead mouse in one of the apertures and some fragments of charred paper, this last a relic of the experiments of former visitors. The neighbourhood of Schuls is rich in such Düsthöhle, and in the variety and number of its mineral springs, one resembling in flavour the excellent seltzer of St. Moritz.

In the 20 miles we have yet to traverse from Schuls to the Austrian frontier, at Martinsbrück, there are several villages, but most of them lie out of sight on the middle heights. The road which leads through them is, on account of its freer situation, probably preferable to the secluded post road. Martinsbrück is a mere group of custom houses with a small inn. It stands at the mouth of the stupendous gorge of Finstermünz, the cliffs of which here approach so near as to leave passage only for the river. For this reason perhaps or perhaps for some strategical purpose, the high road is not continued through the gorge, but crossing the Inn into the Tirol winds up a steep hillside for at least an hour, and quits the Inn valley. It descends immediately into that of the Stillen Bach, and passes through Nauders, whence it turns again to the Inn valley in such a manner that one may say it forms two sides of a triangle of which the Finstermünz gorge is the base and Nauders the apex.*

Before leaving the Engadin I must say a few words about its courteous and hospitable people. They are with the exception of the villagers of Tarasp, members of the Reformed Church; elementary education is universal, and school attendance to the age of 15 compulsory; they are well-to-do, and there are no beggars in the whole length of the valley with the exception of a few stray foreigners. In the Upper Engadin (and perhaps also

* Foot passengers who are in haste can take the indifferent foot-path which leads from Martinsbrück direct through the gorge, but this is not ad-

visable for those who have time to make the détour to Nauders and the Finstermünz Pass.

in the Lower) it is common for the young men to seek their fortune as confectioners, liqueur and chocolate makers, cooks, etc., and also in higher situations; but they always return to their native valley when they have acquired a competency. This accounts for the large number of comfortable and well-built houses, in villages, which offer no apparent opportunity for money-making. The Engadiners have been self-governed since 1428-1436, the period of the formation of the Grey League (Grau Bund). Although, the Canton Graubünden has belonged to Switzerland since 1803 it was not until 1848 that the 26 small republics of which it was composed merged their independence in the central Swiss Government. Judging from their newspapers one would say that its people are still extremely jealous of interference in their local affairs. The general impression left by our stay amongst the Engadiners is that they are an honourable and courteous people, simple in their tastes and untroubled by extravagant ideals of worldly success. Their lives appear contented and hard-working, and they seem able in spite of the many rigours of their mountain climate to compass a considerable amount of domestic comfort.

II. THE UPPER INN VALLEY.

AT Martinsbrück the valley of the Inn loses its name of Engadin and is known as the Inn Thal. As we cross the dividing bridge we are advised by the imperial eagle and the crucifix that we have left Republicanism and Protestantism behind. Nauders, the first Tirolese village, is a busy posting place; lying as it does at the junction of several much frequented roads. From it starts the Stelvio Pass road, leading into Italy over the highest of all Alpine driving passes; and the road to Méran and Botzen in the south Tirol. We saw it full of the hurry and bustle of a sheep fair, which was taking place within a walled enclosure and furnished many an episode amusing to a spectator, by the difficulty of separating individual animals from the flock and of inducing them to repair to their new abodes. In several cases this was only effected when (it was generally) a woman carried off her refractory purchase in her arms. Here, as in all Tirolese villages we passed later, frescoes of saints are common on the outer walls of houses and churches; and not seldom a crucifix is conspicuous by its size and position in the inn-parlour. Robertson of Brighton remarks on this subject that he never observed that the presence of the crucifix had any solemnizing effect on the occupants of the room. It would be strange if it had in a country where the image of suffering is so constantly before the eye that its actual portraiture of

pain and its symbolism of redemption lose all meaning. Devout as the Tirolese peasantry undoubtedly is, wayside shrines and household crucifixes do not seem its chosen places for prayer. It is rare to observe any one kneeling at either or showing any reverence in passing. At a village inn near Landeck there is a curious illustration of the incongruity which superstitious use of holy things may produce. Over the door is a grotesque sign of two bacchanalian griffins, drinking and dancing, which is surmounted by a picture of the Madonna and child of more than usual refinement of expression and execution. I may mention, while on this subject, a curious wayside chapel between Silz and Zirl. It is erected in honour of St. Apollonia, a martyr portrayed as having her teeth torn out with impossibly large pincers. Within the railing which protects the picture lie on a bracket or are suspended by strings from its edge, a quantity of teeth. A Tirolese girl, with a shade of affronted suspicion at our question, informed us that these were votive offerings from sufferers who had been cured of tooth-ache by praying at this shrine. In the Tirol we passed many rude pictured memorials of accidents, erected with a frequency which speaks clearly of the dangers of a mountainous country. Under the representation of the manner of death are inscribed the name, age, &c., of the victim with a request for the prayers of the charitable. On so many, numerous wayfarers have written their names that one supplies a reason for what would otherwise be a desecration and guesses that they have said the requested Ave or Vater Unser, and wish to leave a memorandum for the priest whose duty it is to make up the purgatorial account of the victim. These memorials record death by falling stones or trees, by floods, by falls from precipices, &c., &c. A singularly large number commemorate the death by the roadside of persons struck by paralysis or apoplexy (*Schlag-fluss*.)

It is a magnificent walk through the Finstermünz Pass; the road—a broad military causeway—after crossing the mountain basin in which Nauders lies, enters a fortified cleft, through which the Stillen Bach leaps down to join the Inn, and emerges without descending into the Inn Thal, at a height from which herdsmen and cows in the river meadows look like toys; opposite tower the grim peaks of Mount Mordin, and to the right rises perpendicularly the great cliff on whose face the road is hewn. There is a beautifully situated group of houses towards the end of the pass, called Hoch Finstermünz, from which one looks back through the gorge and sees again the mountains and glaciers of the lower Engadin. Near this point we had our first experience of the incomprehensibility of rural Tirolese German. We addressed a number of questions to an

old, a very old, toilworn woman who responded with a flood of words as though she loved gossip and had been solitary for a week. We thanked her and passed on. "What did she say?" asked one. "Did you not understand?" "No." "Nor I. I hoped you did."

A few miles lower, the valley opens and the scenery notwithstanding a greater irregularity in the mountain forms which are here often fantastic, becomes less desolate. There are fields of rye and barley, not only in the valley but on what must be weary heights to climb; cleared patches among the highest fir-woods, cheerful and home-like places, surrounding sociable groups of chalets. Each small "hill-station" has its chapel, the larger and lower ones which reach to the dignity of hamlets or villages have frequently a church with the graceful and slender wooden spire, coloured crimson which forms such a picturesque feature in Tirolese landscapes. Lovers of unmitigated solitude will of course disagree with the opinion that these dwelling-places are for every reason welcome. Artistically regarded they certainly give variety of form and colour and are in themselves picturesque. The ideas of the interwoven life of a community which they suggest vivify the inanimate landscape; to realize this one needs only after admiring the situation of (*e. g.*) Ladis niched among rocks in the shadow of Schloss Landegg, replace it in fancy by the few square yards it covers, as they were in their earlier solitude. The spot would attract no attention, included in the somewhat vague description of an indefinite number of miles of hill and valley, "beautiful scenery." Apart from its suggestive situation under the walls of an ancient stronghold, Ladis in common with all such high and safely niched villages has another interest. It stands as a sign of conquest in man's unequal struggle with nature. In a country where so many difficulties must be grappled with, it is cheering to see some overthrown; a sunny shoulder, cleared of the smaller stones and rocks, laboriously shaped into terraces to withstand the wash of heavy rains, and in return yielding pasture or corn land, or a turbulent stream led quietly through a strong masonry canal instead of spreading destruction over many an acre; or an unstable slope fixed by the clinging roots of trees which serve too as bulwarks against avalanches. All such sights are eloquent of an unremitting struggle in which man sometimes wins. The bare pine trunks inverted in the track of an avalanche, the ruined cottages near the torrent, and the stone-strewn fields show that he is often worsted. Little wonder that an ignorant people should seek supernatural protection and cover their fields with crosses and shrines, but much wonder that they have so long preserved faith in their efficacy! Below the Finstermünz defile, there is a meadow path to Pfunds,

a path which must be charming when in shade. The Inn valley is only thoroughly enjoyable by early risers who get their day's march over before the heat of the day, for the heat is often excessive and there is little shade. The next good-sized village to Pfunds is Tösens, so named from the rapids of the river; and as we saw it a peaceful place in spite of its brawling waters. It was evening, the cows were all housed except one belated and self-lamenting creature which kept her mistress waiting and calling on the door-step,—the curé was pacing before his comfortable house and well-stocked garden, breviary in hand waiting till the vesper bell should have rung in his evening congregation, and groups of gossips dotted the grassy roadside, presumably on their way to church. All the Tirolese villages, as in the Engadin, have an appearance of comfort and well-being. Their roomy houses, large gardens, and the absence of anything like grinding poverty, force one to think with humiliation of what could be said of a succession of English villages. One of the pleasant features both of Tirolese and Swiss life is the good understanding that subsists between the people and their domestic animals. Horses and cattle are well-fed and kept, and seem endowed with more intelligence than their brethren in other countries. When one sees the handsome oxen or sensible-faced cows, harnessed in the humane fashions prevalent in the valley of the Inn, one wonders if it would be possible to reform Pír Baksh. The Tirolese seems even a better mode than the Swiss, in so far as by the use of a well-padded collar, fastened at the peak by a buckle and strap, it puts the strain on the shoulders and removes it from the head; certainly the animal looks more comfortable without the heavy head yoke and seems to show by tossing its head that it is proud of its brass studded harness.

Tirolese men have the reputation of being somewhat idle and of preferring the desultory life of sportsmen to the toilsome life of agriculturists; certainly if it were safe to generalize from our experience we should say that the women do more than their share of field labour. No task seems too heavy for them. I retain a vivid image of one woman, who would have made an admirable model for Millet. She was tall and yellow-haired, dressed in the common short ungraceful skirt of thick blue stuff; with bare feet, which sank deep into the newly dug earth; she wielded her rake with an energy, which irresistibly suggested, at least when one saw her anxious face, that she had to hurry home to cook the family dinner. Millet would have depicted the inroads made by too hard labour on her still youthful beauty as he would also have depicted the wreck of many another graceful form, crippled and prematurely aged by exposure and over-work in Tirolese meadows.

Below Tösens come Ried and Prutz, and above them on the heights Ladis and the bathing establishment of Obladis, the best

in the Tirol; then the entrance to the Kaunser Thal is passed and its temptations to leave the direct road and explore its pleasant, village-strewn Alps and its head of glacier-striped mountains are left behind. The valley narrows and becomes a mere defile, crossed at its entrance by the historic Pontlazer Brücke. This bridge has twice been the scene of a battle between the Tirolese and Bavarians in 1703 and 1809, in both of which the former were completely successful. Sir Walter Scott gives a graphic account of the last and most important of these. The Bavarians were coming from Landeck towards Prutz by a road which, for a full hour before reaching the bridge, runs at a considerable height above the river, on the face of a precipitous cliff. On this cliff, near the bridge, the Tirolese under Hofer had posted themselves, had piled up heaps of stones, loose earth and trees at its edge and had fixed them with ropes. The Bavarian advance guard was allowed to pass unmolested to Prutz: the main body deceived by this entered the defile. The first warning of the presence of the Tirolese was given by a question, asked high above their heads, "Is it time?" "No." Then there was silence and the Bavarians marched onwards to the Pontlazer Bridge. Then the silence was again broken by the order "Let go in the name of the Holy Trinity." The ropes were loosed, down thundered the avalanche of débris and crushed or swept in the river nearly two-thirds of the Bavarian force. The few who escaped were at the mercy of the Tirolese marksmen posted on the opposite side of the river, and the general with the advance guard being surrounded at Prutz was compelled to surrender. Thus the whole army of 1,400 men fell into the hands of the patriots.

The stretch of road through the gorge below the Pontlazer Brücke is shadeless and toilsome; one gladly forgets its discomforts and its terrible associations in the fine view across the Inn of fertile Alps and sunny hamlets, and of the grey peaks of Paseyrspitze which close the valley towards Landeck.

Landeck is a delightful little town, smiling over a broad expanse of maize and pasture, in spite of the frowns of Paseyrspitze. A castle looks down on it, Schloss Landeck, now serving as a residence for several poor families, some of whom were reduced to poverty by the ravages of a flood. The Inn valley is besprinkled with castles, perched in situations such that one suspects with King James in another country that their builders were thieves at heart. Of all the defiant and aggressive strongholds I have seen the small grey castle of Schroffenstein is the most defiant and aggressive, although it consists of little more than a single tower. It stands on a high pointed rock over against Schloss Landeck, at an angle of Paseyrspitze whence it can overlook three roads. There is no visible means of approach, indeed we were told that it is now

inaccessible. The mere sight of it starts trains of sensational incidents even in an unimaginative spectator; it would make the fortune of an exhausted novelist, for it and its situation are groundwork for a harrowing plot.

In the neighbourhood of Landeck and perhaps elsewhere in the Tirol, there still take place wrestling matches in which a thick ring, a cestus, is used as a weapon. The victor is rewarded with a plume of blackcock feathers, which he wears in his hat; to have been the victor in one of these contests is considered a high distinction. Landeck has a pilgrimage church founded in memory of the restoration of two lost children to their parents by the interposition of the Madonna. A picture and inscription affixed to a fir in the churchyard commemorate the remarkable event. The story goes that the father and mother, good pious people, went out one day, leaving their boy and girl at home, and that on their return the children were not to be found. The parents ran to their neighbours and searched the wood, but in vain. After many hours of fruitless wandering they came upon a small image of the Madonna nailed to the trunk of a tree; they threw themselves before it and entrusted further search to her. Hardly had they done so when a wolf and a bear issued from the wood, each carrying a child in its mouth, and as the picture shows, courteously laid them down at the foot of the tree before the astonished parents. So the church of Our Lady of Landeck came to be founded and the roads to be enlivened by bands of pilgrims. We met one such, of 15 or 20 young men and women, all provided with large knapsacks and all dressed in a Tirolese costume of which the broad hat was the distinctive feature. They marched quickly past us, to the rhythm of a chant or invocation, which by its monotony and tone recalled the song of the palkee-wallah.

A visit to the churchyard made us conclude that the sunny Landeck must exercise some evil influence on its children. It is full of tiny grave-mounds, and at least one grave stone showed a long list of deaths in early childhood. Of course we had seen enough in the Inn valley to make us wonder that any children are left to grow up in it. They cannot be born wise: then why do they not roll over the dangerous precipices on which they play or fall into the river as so many a man has done? But Landeck is not specially dangerous and its children have a remarkable appearance of beauty and health. We made enquiry of the talkative waitress at the "Black Eagle." "Healthy? yes! certainly, Landeck is healthy." "The grave stone with the name "Müller and so many children's names. That is the postmaster's "stone, he is always named Müller and the stone has belonged to "three postmasters." Our remaining suspicion of the air of Landeck vanished before a closer inspection, which disclosed to us

the Tirolese custom of raising a short mound only, even on the grave of a grown-up person.

At Landeck we found ourselves in a slight difficulty with our luggage. This nuisance to pedestrians can be safely consigned to a Swiss diligence and this we had done. At Nauders we had with some trouble persuaded the driver of the Stellwagen to convey it to Landeck. The Stellwagen is a cheap and lofty omnibus which looks as though it had borrowed its wheels. It is not a tempting vehicle, though it is much used. At Landeck a new line of Stellwagen begins, a private undertaking, and the driver objected to carry our luggage though he was willing to take it and us. The imperial and royal post does not carry large boxes. Help was vaguely suggested by the boots, who thought that it was possible a Führmann (carrier) would come, to-day or to-morrow, or certainly within a few days, and may be he would carry the luggage to Innsbruck. So we waited not unwillingly and strolled up the Rosanna Thal and observed the quaint and pious observances of the people. The Führmann came, after only a day's delay, a *bond fide* carter, concerning himself with baggage only; but then his open cart need not, like the Stellwagen, offer a bribe to tempt passengers into its uncomfortable depths.

The walk from Landeck to Imst is one of the most beautiful of the valley, and if I were not convinced of the inutility of raptures to convey an impression of its charms, I should be tempted to fall into them. But I refrain, and merely mention that there are in it two distinguishing points; the great cliff from which Schloss Krouburg looks back to Schroffenstein and the sharp cone of the Tschürgant which from afar excites one's curiosity by its isolated appearance, seeming as it does to form no part of the lateral ranges of the valley.

Imst, situated a short distance up the Gurgel Thal, is a centre for many mountain excursions. It is an old town, having received its charter in 1282. It was once noted for its trade in canaries, a delicate article of commerce for such a stern locality. It has now two paper factories, one of which was opened by an Englishman, and a high school is being built. It has 2,236 inhabitants and is the chief place of a judicial district containing 10,561 inhabitants; it is the head-quarters of the district administration, of the district courts, of a diaconate and has a capuchin monastery. Will it be credited that a book-seller's shop is not to be found in this centre of so many interests? We enquired for one after a fruitless search and were directed to Innsbruck: perhaps this absence of books is the cause of the rather superannuated Catholicism of the Tirol and doubtless it is one cause of the ignorance of the rural population. Learning and want of devotion to the church are considered inseparable; in the ironical language of

a writer in the "Alpen Freund," the peasants pray "O Lord! preserve our children from geography and natural history and keep them as their fathers were." We found the local newspapers full of indignation at the supposed Prussianizing and Protestantizing influence of the Tirolese branch of the German Alpine club. One newspaper paragraph, which made the round of the continental papers, narrated that a German who wished to purchase some land in the neighbourhood of a Tirolese village, went there to look it over and met with scant hospitality at his inn and a refusal to sell him the land. When he asked the reason, he was told "Because you are a Protestant." After hearing this in 1876, one is less amazed that in 1838 four hundred Protestants should have been expelled from the Ziller Thal, in the neighbourhood of Innsbrück and books. The census return for 1872 shows the almost perfect unanimity of Catholic opinion; "Catholics 775, 476; Protestants 670; Unitarians and other Christians 29; Jews 107; Heathen 1."

A few miles below Imst open the celebrated valleys of Oetz and Pitz, dear to the mountaineer on account of the grandeur of their glaciers, and of the numerous passes which lead from them into the Vintschgau. Between Imst and Silz is the first sign of navigation on the Inn; a rude ferry boat, worked in the simple fashion which all who have seen the ferry over the Rhine at Basel will recal, by allowing the force of the current to work against the boat in opposition to the tension of a rope suspended across the stream. Lower down the river below Telfs we saw a raft, on which placidly gossipped two market-women seated by their piled baskets of garden produce, while several men steadied the unwieldy logs through the rapids with long poles. These were the only craft we met with on the stream, which is too rapid to be useful for navigation.

Fourteen miles below Imst stands the finely situated Schloss Petersburg, the birth place of Margaret (so-called) Maultasch, (of the wide mouth,) countess and heiress of the Tirol. She ceded her inheritance to Duke Rudolf IV. in 1363; and thus the Tirol became part of that Austrian Empire to which it has ever since retained so devoted an attachment. Near the castle is a splendid fir-wood traversed by the post road. It is bordered by a set of unusually well-painted stations, possibly placed here because the Tirolese are apt to think their woods uncanny after dark.

A few miles lower, beyond Silz, is the Cistercian monastery of Stams. It was founded in 1271 by Elizabeth, the mother of Conrad, the last of the Hohenstauffens, with money she had collected for his ransom, and which on his execution in captivity she devoted to this pious purpose. A pleasant association of the grey old building, is that the genial Maximilian held court here.

sometimes, and that he here in 1497 received the ambassadors of Sultan Bajazet, who came seeking for their master the hand of Kunigunde, sister to the Emperor. At such a time what life and colour must have filled the quiet courts and the well-tended garden of the monastery! It is a fine building, containing an extensive library and good collections of art and natural treasures; it seems to have within and around it all the means for tranquil and studious retirement.

Near Telfs, a considerable manufacturing town, the post road crosses to the left bank of the Inn, and a good "commercial strasse" commences on the right bank, shorter and more picturesque than the post road. It connects a close succession of villages, and amongst other places, passes through Oberhofen, a hamlet which enjoys the reputation, rare in rural Tirol, of valuing education.

A writer in the *Alpen Freund* (1871), named J. Günther, laments the ignorance of his countrymen, and under the title "Ein Oase," honourably distinguishes the small community of Oberhofen. The hamlet is situated on a very destructive brook, the Kanzing, which absorbs in dams and annual repairs all available public funds, and also used to entail a rather heavy charge for certain prayers said over it by the parish priest. The number of children attending school was eighty; too many to be properly taught by the one teacher of the hamlet; but the inhabitants could not afford to pay another, and therefore cast about to see if they could economise and save the small fee necessary from the public expenses. They decided to appropriate the sum paid hitherto for prayers by the brook side, saying that they hoped and believed that the Lord would not be angry if the prayers were restricted to the church. Herr Günther narrates a curious episode which shows that at least in Oberhofen there is not unquestioning obedience to the wishes of the clergy. He was present in the church on the feast-day of the Madonna, when a stranger, a priest from a neighbouring seminary, officiated. This priest, contrary to the village custom, placed two plates at the sides of the altar with the expectation that the congregation would lay their offerings for the seminary funds on them. No one moved to give, and after waiting a short time, he lost patience, hurried into the pulpit and addressing an image of the Madonna cried "O! holy mother of God! blame not these parishioners; they are misled! See! with outstretched hands I pray for the blinded people. Amen!" He then descended and continued the service. The congregation remained astonished and silent. The occurrence gave rise to a doggrel verse, of which the German rendering is as follows:—

' Dominus vobiscum ;

' Leert den Bauern den Geldbeuteln um

' Leert ihn vollends um.'

The next place of special interest in our journey is a mile below Zirl, the celebrated Martinswand, a precipice of more than two thousand feet in height. In its face, high above the road, is a rock chapel dug to mark the edge on which the Emperor Maximilian was caught in his fall over the precipice. No wonder, thought we as we looked up to the place, that when he lay there head downwards, powerless to move unaided, the good priests gave up hope for the salvation of his body and did their best for that of his soul, by prayers at the foot of the rock. No wonder that his deliverer, an outlaw or hunter named Zipper, should be mistaken for an angel and his rescue be considered a miracle. Martinswand is passed in the last day's march down the valley, for it is only four hours from Innsbruck, and at Kranebitten, a pretty group of an inn and some cottages, we see something which reconciles us to quitting "Bohemia;" a straight road of nearly four miles in length, leading down the broad valley to Innsbruck, and thence continuing its prosaic way to Hall. Before entering this alley there is a fine view of Innsbruck and its wide-spread suburbs; the bourne to which *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*, we have turned our steps for so many days. We found our *quieta sedes* in one of those great hotels which are scrupulously fashioned to English travelling taste. It was a rude awakening from our enjoyment of things Tirolese and novel. The head waiter, an elegant citizen of Lubeck, assured us "we don't like Germans here," and shrugged his shoulders compassionately on the expression of an opinion adverse to the English oasis system.

Innsbruck must be familiar to many Anglo-Indians, lying as it does on one of the railway routes to Venice. It has a population of over 16,000 and a busy and prosperous air. It shows none of the rural aversion to education; it is unusually well supplied with book-shops, has a numerously attended university and many schools. Amongst its historical relics are several of the highest interest and beauty. The most celebrated is the tomb of Maximilian in the Franciscan or Hof Kirche,—known to Innsbruck children as "the church of the black men." The sarcophagus is a marvel of delicate workmanship; it is covered with exquisitely carved tablets of white marble, representing the principal events in the life of the Emperor. Twenty out of the 24 reliefs are by Alexander Colin de Mechlin. It is worthy of remark that this magnificent tomb is empty, the Emperor being buried elsewhere. Round the central casket are ranged 28 tall bronze portrait statues (the "black men,") representing ancestors, contemporaries, and associates of Maximilian—all are of surpassing workmanship. In the same church are monuments to a trio of brave men. Andreas Hofer, Joseph Speckbacher and Joachim Haspinger

and to their comrades in defending their country. Adjoining the church is a small chapel, known as the Silver Chapel, which was built for the reception of the tombs of himself and his wife by Ferdinand the Second, regent of the Tirol from 1563 to 1593. His wife was the beautiful Philippine Welser, whose charms and romantic marriage have surrounded her memory with poetic interest. She was the daughter of an Augsburg merchant, in days when Augsburg merchants were princes in wealth and influence. She was one of three beauties of a city renowned for its beautiful daughters, who at about the same time wedded princely husbands. Tradition says that Philippine was as good as she was lovely, and that her thirty years residence at Schloss Ambras, near Innsbruck, were full of charitable deeds, some of which are sculptured on her tomb. Specimens of her needlework still preserved show that she used her needle with unusual dexterity, and her dainty taste is attested as well by the arrangement of her collection of curiosities in her home, as by the elegant table service of gold and coral preserved in the town museum. Her portrait shows a sweet face, frank and intellectual, and one which must have pleaded powerfully to excuse Ferdinand for his misalliance, even in the eyes of his indignant father.

There is an interesting if small collection of national treasures in the museum. There are relics of the patriot leaders of 1800; swords and flags; Hofer's amulet which he wore always in his hat; Haspinger's crucifix, which he held outstretched as he exhorted his countrymen to fight for their liberties, and many others of equal interest. In the same room are framed many pages from the Radetsky album, which itself fills a large cupboard. Amongst others, mostly accompanied by a motto, letter or poem in honour of the hero, are the autographs of Wellington and the Prince Consort; of Wagner and Litz; of Longfellow and Uhland—Paul Heyse and Grimm. Here too, is the autograph of Wrangel, the veteran to whom within the last nine months (September 1876), the German Emperor sent congratulation on the 80th anniversary of his military service. In another room is a touching illustration of the perseverance with which a master-passion will conquer difficulties. This is a collection of the wood-carving of Josef Kleinhanns of Nauders (1774-1853) a man blind from his fifth year, but who acquired so exquisite a sense of touch, that if allowed to feel a face he could reproduce it in wood. Amongst his works is a bust of Hofer, which bears a strong resemblance to his portraits.

The Friedhof (cemetery) of Innsbruck is well worth a visit. It is surrounded by an arcade, which affords sufficient shelter to allow memorial pictures to be placed within it. Some of these

and also of the sculptures are in excellent taste and of good execution. At the foot of each larger monument are ranged choice plants, the Virginia creeper wreathes every pillar and arch of the arcade and spreads its long sprays over the pavement; the inner quadrangle is gay with the flowers on the lowlier graves; all is well kept and in good taste; it is a "court of peace" for living and dead.

There are many walks round Innsbruck, pleasant either for their beauty alone, as the Lanzer Kopf, or for their historical associations also, as Berg Isel the scene of several victories hard won from France and Bavaria. No one need regret a visit to the quaint old gabled town or a halt in the midst of such a glorious amphitheatre of mountains as that which girds it.

From Innsbruck the direct route to Venice is over the Brenner and through Verona. The Brenner Pass is in itself one of the least interesting of Alpine passes; it affords few distant views as the road for the most part runs in deep and narrow valleys. The railway, however, gives it a new and special character and renders its transit highly interesting. Verona is reached in eleven hours. We spent two days here with much pleasure. It is a town rich in the quaint and picturesque. Its pride centres of course in its beautiful amphitheatre. This is now shorn of the glory of its marble outer wall, but its arena and encircling seats are well preserved. A modern theatre carries on the traditional purpose of the amphitheatre; other entertainments sometimes take place within its walls. After wandering in it and picturing savage scenes in which gladiators and wild beasts had their share, it was a curious contrast to watch on the same spot, a cadet corps performing harmless evolution and singing patriotic songs. Verona has besides the great Piazza Brá, two remarkable squares. The old world Piazza del Signori, with its splendid frescoed Council house, its quiet palaces, its courtly and tranquil air, fitly contains the noble statue of Dante, whom his Veronese contemporaries were proud to welcome when an exile from his native Florence. A short passage leads into the Piazza d' Erbe. This too has its frescoed and ancient houses, but here to-day blots out the past, and one can only look at to-day's sight. In the early morning of a September day the Piazza d' Erbe presents a gorgeous spectacle. Piled in wide baskets are downy peaches and many-tinted apples, green and purple grapes still clouded with bloom, russet pears and medlars, figs, most fragile of garden produce, showing their luscious pink through reuts in their black or yellow skins; scarlet tomatoes, all the autumn wealth that a country favoured by sun and soil can yield. The piazza is shaded by huge umbrellas, compared with which those of Benares Brahmins are but mushrooms: under them throng the chattering

buyers and sellers ; it is a kaleidescopic scene of colour and amusing episodes.

From Verona to Venice is a short journey. To begin to speak of Venice is to open the flood-gates to admiration. Its charms are too many and too well known to be more than alluded to here. There is, however, one place not frequently visited which I may mention. This is Chioggia (Tschosa in Venetian dialect) a miniature Venice, distant two hours by steamer. The way round the Lagune to it is interesting ; the Murazzi (sea-wall) especially so, and so also is Palestrina, a town devoted to lace-making, both of which can be easily visited in the interval before the departure of the steamer.

But the "Baroda" lies in the Lagune and we must leave Venice. But we carry with us many a pleasant memory of our wanderings from remote Chur, memories which will rise refreshingly before the "inward eye," to break evil days of monotonous gloom.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

ART. VI.—SEVEN YEARS OF INDIAN LEGISLATION.

1.—*Acts of the Governor-General in Council, 1871-76.*
Calcutta, Govt. Press.

2.—*Selections from the Records of the Government of India—the production of Gold and Silver.* Calcutta, Government Press : 1876.

3.—*The Punjab Administration Report for 1875-76.*

IT is seven years since we cast a backward glance over legislation by the Governor-General in Council during the previous twelve years, and the course of history has brought us to a point where we may conveniently stand again to review these last seven years. We perceive at once, that the distinctive feature of the first period was innovation—of the second codification. The main exceptions to the truth of this remark were the enactments of the Penal Code and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes in the first period ; the main exceptions to its truth in the second will be discussed *seriatim* below. The general truth of it as regards the first period was sufficiently discussed in our former review : and the general truth of it as concerns the present period is sufficiently proved by the following synopsis. The New Criminal Procedure Code amalgamated 33 previous laws, some of Madras, some of Bombay, some of Bengal, and some of the Supreme Council, all of which it repealed. The Punjab Laws Act codified and repealed a vast mass of ill-digested orders and circulars in the judicial department, some having the force of law and some having not ; the Punjab Land Revenue Act performed the same kindly function in the revenue department ; the Customs Act VIII. of 1875 codified and repealed seventeen Acts and Bengal Regulations ; the Limitation Act swept away parts of six Acts of Parliament and 23 Acts of the Indian Legislature ; the Excise Act superseded the whole of five others ; the Registration Act repealed the whole of two Acts, parts of two others, and a mass of rules prevailing in Oudh and Burma ; and so on of many other laws which fixed together justly fitting, harmonious, and well-arranged bodies of law on particular subjects, and gave to the Indian Empire united coherent codes in lieu of masses of fragmentary, conflicting and obscure rulings or piecemeal enactments. But besides these there have been two or three laws whose object was only to act as besoms for sweeping away rubbish ; such are Act XXIX. of 1871, which consigned to limbo no less than 54 laws or parts of laws, and Acts XII. of 1873 and XVI. of 1874 which delivered us for ever from the almost incre-

dible number of 501 others, or parts of others passed for India, for Bengal, for Bombay, or for Madras, besides ten Acts of Parliament. For all this clearance the public is deeply indebted to Sir FitzJames Stephen and Sir A. Hobhouse, with their Secretaries, and to the diligent labours of Mr. F. R. Cockerell, Member of the Legislative Council. These Acts XII. of 1873 and XVI. of 1874 are each most fittingly styled "*par excellence*," the Repealing Act.

We have now taken a very cursory glance at the general scope of late legislation. There is a great deal more to be said as to certain classes of laws which may be conveniently grouped thus :

- I. Fiscal Laws.
- II. Laws for government of the so-called Non-regulation Provinces.
- III. Laws embodying abstract principles of justice.
- IV. Social Laws of universal application.
- V. Social Laws of limited application.

I. The fiscal laws are of two sorts, Imperial and Local. In one sense every fiscal law is imperial, as the Government of the imperial finances is pre-eminently a matter of imperial concern. But since the adoption of the decentralisation scheme which Sir John Strachey induced Lord Mayo to enforce, all financial matters have had a double face, one looking to the Empire, the other to some portion thereof. We will therefore consider the local taxation laws first. The Government of India has taken the whole income from land revenue, Stamps, Opium, Post-office, Telegraph and Customs, and has accepted the responsibility of the cost of the Army and Navy, those departments whose income it takes, and law and justice ; while to local Governments was given the income from excise, education, jails, registration, and some minor sources, and they were also credited with a fixed annual allotment from Imperial revenues, being told at the same time to bear the entire cost of those departments whose income they drew, besides dispensaries, lunatic asylums, and also of all public works of other than imperial obligation. Of course all local feeders to railways, and such works as are designed to promote internal traffic, fell thus to provincial Governments, to make and to keep up ; and it was clear, and indeed it was meant, that each such Government should levy its own taxes on its own domain ; and to the necessity thence arising we owe the three Acts of 1871, numbered XVII, XVIII and XX, authorising the levy of rates on land in Oudh, the North-West Provinces and the Punjab respectively ; while for Bengal, notwithstanding a violent and long-continued agitation raised by the zemindars, it was ruled by the Secretary of State that the saving clause of Lord Cornwallis' settlement

charter left a loophole whereby Government could enter into the landowner's till, and take as much money as it deemed right for local necessities. No zemindar has ventured to contest this decision in a court of law. It would have saved much ill-will and bombastic airing of grievances in the newspapers if that simple method of bringing the matter to an issue had been adopted by some of the malcontents. However, whether by means of old or of new legislation the fact remains, that in India now, each local Government has authority to levy rates on land to a limit laid down in each Act. It would be an interesting subject for the student of constitutional history to trace the gradual abandonment of the old maxim, hammered out by years of hard knocks under the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, that all taxation must be with the advice and consent of the King, Lords, and Commons. We regret that we have not the materials for such enquiry at hand, but this much is patent, that our ancestors in the tumult and worry of ship-money, voluntary loans, and such like exactions, stated their law too broadly. The multiplying exigencies of a developing society have compelled the Parliament in England to abdicate its functions of taxation in a large degree. Hence the uprising of county rates and parish rates of sorts and sizes to an alarming extent, over and above the imperial taxation, In the three Acts under discussion the principle on which that local taxation is based, has been more widely stretched than even in England, till every Indian Governor has become more autocratic than 10 years ago was thought possible. War may engulf the empire, but municipal improvements, the teaching of the young, the imprisonment of offenders, the treatment of the sick, will go on without crippled funds; and this disassociation of the domestic from the official element of our Indian subjects' life is an unquestionable gain. It is, however, open to grave doubt whether the imperial allotment towards the sustentation of provincial revenue can be maintained at its present low figure. The following remarks are taken from the Government review of the Punjab Administration Report of 1875-76, and may go towards showing that a revision of the sums granted is necessary: "It may fairly "be assumed that there is no province in which the system of "fixed assignments to meet the most important changes, and "those possessing the greatest power of growth, would be less "likely to be completely successful. The Punjab at the date of "that measure had been only 20 years annexed, and like all "countries suddenly placed under sure and equal laws after long "periods of confusion and strife, had made rapid advance in "wealth and prosperity; and population and cultivation had "increased at a faster ratio than perhaps in any other part of "India. What, in an older province, is included under the head

"of Repairs, came in the Punjab under the heading of Construction. All the appliances of English civilisation, jails, court houses, school buildings, roads, bridges, were wanting in 1850, and when the decentralisation resolution of 1870 was passed, the province was very far from having an adequate supply. The assignments of grants were originally insufficient for the wants of the province, putting their normal growth altogether on one side. The local taxation which became necessary in consequence has, the Lieutenant-Governor believes, been borne without much dissatisfaction or complaint, and chiefly for the reason that its expenditure, together with those local funds which are raised from the agricultural population such as the road and school cesses, is entrusted entirely to district committees which have been everywhere appointed, and which include all the native gentlemen of independence and position in the several districts. Then it is manifest that the sums which are raised under this Act (XX of 1870), which amount to 16 or 17 lakhs per annum, are an immense advantage to the district, and afford the means of much local improvement in the way of communications and education, yet they are not available to the Government while their application is so limited by the Act as to only partially relieve Government of charges, which might perhaps in equity be thrown upon local committees. They are, moreover, not sufficient to adequately supplement the Imperial assignments and to meet the numerous and ever-increasing wants of a province like the Punjab * * * * The principle of fixed assignments for growing charges, seems to the Lieutenant-Governor, one that cannot logically be maintained without some modification. It is to find a living body to a corpse, or to compel a man to remain in the clothes which only fitted him when a child."

From this extract, it would appear that if the principle of the local taxation Acts is to bear the whole fruit expected from it, the present large sum of 16 or 17 lakhs raised in the poorest province of British India alone, must be further increased by fresh local taxation, and when that inevitable time shall come; we earnestly trust that the commercial classes may be made, by something like a shop-tax, directly to bear a part of the burdens now falling on agriculturists. It is all very well to say that it is not so, that though the producer pays the tax in the first instance, the consumer pays it eventually. That is a fallacy in India; for taxes being all paid in cash, and the producer having no cash, is obliged to borrow it from the consumer of his produce: often by hypothecation of that produce before it is in existence; and the tendency of our courts is so markedly in favour of the man who has money and against the man who has only crops, that in the long run, the former comes

into possession of the latter's land, as has been the case in instances too many to mention. Taxes of this sort will only then be paid by the commercial classes, when they themselves, by operation of our courts and of practically irredeemable mortgages, have also become the producing class, or rather owners of land; the instrument of production worked by an impoverished peasantry, who will be then in the position of the man who is unable to sink lower than he is, because his credit being at zero no one will lend him any more money.

In the second branch of fiscal laws enacted during the period under review are, first the Indian Coinage Act of 1871, and the sister Paper Currency Act of 1871 repealing its five predecessors. This last made the paper money of the empire universally convertible in practice and empowered the executive to issue notes of so low a denomination as five rupees. These changes had been long advocated by the press. Under these relaxations the paper money of the empire is in a healthy state, and Government credit is good; indeed, until the late political disturbances caused a slight decline (of a temporary nature, we may hope) it was excellent. These observations lead us on to the Income Tax Act of 1871. It came into the world like a sickly infant, branded with the sentence of its own death, carefully limited to last but a few months. All India rejoiced over its end, and consigned it to its peaceful tomb in the fusty volumes of obsolete law books. Why should we disgrace it now by disinterring its poor remains to trample on them? The next fiscal Act must be tenderly handled. It was passed on the 31st March 1871, and though it repealed eleven older ones, it had to be patched up on the same day by another short Act amending one of its predecessors which it had not repealed. It imposed on sea-borne goods duties which were taken, until the report of the Tariff Committee of last year ruined its fair fame, and it was discarded by the legislation on the same matter embodied in Act XVI of 1875,—the Tariff Act which led to Lord Northbrook's resignation, and to a series of telegrams from the Secretary of State which may have results as yet unforeseen. Lord Salisbury has conceded to the Indian Legislature the power enjoyed by the House of Commons—the origination and elaboration of money bills. But there the parallel ceases. The House of Peers, though possessing a constitutional right to overrule or modify such bills, has only exercised it once in the memory of men now living. But the Secretary for India desires that money bills of the Indian Council be submitted to him before they are passed; that he may exercise his discretion of veto on them while yet immature; and so save the Government of India from the mortification of defeat upon them after they have become law. It is hard to see why this principle, if good at all,

should not be good for every sort of bill ; and if good for India, should not also be good for England. But no one has ever suggested the notion that a Committee of the House of Commons should confer with the House of Lords prior to its own passing of a bill of any sort ; though such committees are very common to remove apparently insurmountable differences of opinion between the two Houses ; and we fail to see why the Secretary of State should now, for the first time, offer for our acceptance a new principle ; and why, if it is to be offered, it should not govern all projects of legislation rather than one particular class ?

We come now to that class of laws of the period under review, which is most interesting to the historian and general student, *i.e.*, the laws which have been passed for the government of the Non-Regulation Provinces. At the time when the Punjab was annexed, the mischief of a corrupt bar, and of a body of legislation founded upon the feudal system of Europe, or upon half-understood and half-known digests of Hindu or Moslem law had, in our older provinces, become very grave. What with the turmoil of incessant war, which prevented due incubation of legal measures, and the viciousness of prostituted civil courts, which had to carry out the indifferent laws then made, it was evident that neither the law nor the practice of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces could be introduced among races who would take the life of the ruler whom they despised or detested ; but would never submit to him or pander to his æsthetic tastes ; and if the new country was to be ruled at all, it must be ruled on a plan wholly diverse from that which had prevailed down country. Personal government was therefore to take the place of mechanical government by codes and regulations. Lord Dalhousie chose men who were not machines : entrusted them with vast power and gave them his confidence, and for a few years the system worked well enough. But it called for extreme care in the choice of its agents ; and it ignored the fact that the best men can become gouty and effete, timid and vacillating ; and so it broke down ; and inasmuch as not every circular was wisely designed or coherently drawn, inasmuch as few executive officers who were also judges had time to annotate their books and keep up their knowledge of orders which were not seldom contradictory and usually diffuse, the Government in time found itself working a perplexed law with officers who were by no means all of the ideal type : confusion and weakness came in, and matters began to drift. Then came the Chief Court of the Punjab, and members of a Bar who all insisted on legal cases being decided by law, and who sought in vain to know what was law under the Indian Council's Act of 1861, and what was not. Too often when the law was found, and applied, it led to so violent an outburst of bloodshed, fanaticism, or miscarriage

of justice that codification became imperative. To illustrate this : local law had always punished the adulteress as well as the adulterer, but the Penal Code forbade this ; and widespread murder followed, particularly amongst the Belooch and Pathan tribes. Opposition to cow-killing was one of the main stand-points of the Sikh Government, and one of Lord Dalhousie's words was that he would rather give up the Punjab than forbid the slaughter of kine for beef ; but the law on this point was only contained in a Government circular. Tracking was as well understood and acted upon in the Punjab as it is now in Australia, but there was no provision for punishing a village into which scores of cattle might be tracked, and unless the actual offenders were caught, justice was openly derided. To lay down rules on all these and many kindred points had been easy for the rough procedure of early days, but the judgments of the courts which were founded on them could not stand the scrutiny of lawyers, or be any way accommodated to codes, whose excellence was admitted, but which had not any provisions for these matters. To the end of remedying these evils, the Government made a strong effort, and in Act XXXIII of 1871, it passed an Act of 66 sections only, embodying a large mass of substantive law in the revenue department. But inasmuch as the varying necessities of society made it advisable to give the local authorities wider powers than could be minutely described in a crystallized law, many of these sections granted a license to the Local Governor to frame rules thereunder, subject to the approval of the Viceroy, which in practice quickly became more copious than the Act, and have provided for almost every detail of the contingencies which arise in a rapidly developing society. Similarly : Act IV of 1872 dealt with such subjects as pre-emption, the predominance of local or tribal custom over Moslem or Hindu law, the track law, slaughter of kine, bands of armed vagrants, insolvency, &c. ; reserving power to the local Government to elaborate by supplementary rules the laws whose leading principles were then sanctioned by the Supreme Legislature : and the smooth and admirable working of this expedient has shown what an excellent compromise has been thus effected between two systems, whose disharmony at one time was painfully embarrassing. But the most radical change in principle has required the intervention of Parliament, which has conferred very wide powers on all who govern India by section 1 of the Act, Chapter III, of 33 Vict. This law enables the Secretary of State to declare to what portions of India it shall be applicable : and he has made it to apply to parts of the Punjab and British Burma, to Sindh, and Assam, to the Andaman Islands, to the Non-Regulation portion of Bengal, as well as to Ajmir, Arakan,

&c. This preliminary enables the Governor-General to sanction in his executive capacity, by way of ordinance, without debates or consideration in the Legislative Council, any draft regulation submitted for his approval by the Local Government, and the discretion has been widely used, and is continually used even yet, when one might think the initial urgency of the call for its promulgation had passed away. Under this enactment the Government of India gave to the Hazara district a Tenancy Regulation superseding the Punjab Tenancy Act, and a limitation law all to itself to the Peshawur Division, which has however now been abrogated. Under it the woman can be punished for adultery all down the Punjab frontier, and though oddly enough she cannot be punished for abetting her own abduction, yet the police can arrest without warrant any man who is complained against as being likely to abduct a married woman. Under this law, too, no new villages may be built within five miles of the same border in British territory without special permission; no man may pasture cattle without an armed guard in certain parts of Bannu and Kohat, nor take measures to release a convict from the Andamans. The same law has enabled the Government to make rules for forests in Hazara, Ajmir and Burma, for Civil and Criminal Procedure in Arakan, for prisons in Assam, for sundry matters affecting the welfare of Talukadars in Ajmir, for settling the wild tracts of Santhalisthan, for giving judicial authority to the uncouth but autocratic chieftain of Spiti, and for other purposes which need not be detailed. It is one of the most royal, (or shall we say imperial?) measures of British rule in Asia. But it would not be complete without the twin Acts of 1874, numbered XIV and XV, and named the Scheduled Districts Act, and Laws Local Extent Act. By the former a large number of enactments are expressly declared not to be in force in districts which by reason of the backwardness and rudeness of the population may be considered unfit for the strictness of civilized law on minor points. The Viceroy is empowered to say what are such districts and he has already so named the whole North-Western and Western frontier: all the Chief Commissionerships except Oudh, Burma, and parts of the Central Provinces; certain hill districts in the N.-W. P., Bengal and Burma; besides the Laccadive and Andaman islands and minor portions of the territories under the governments of Bombay and Madras. Then the Laws Local Extent Act removes all doubt as to the sphere wherein certain other enactments operate whose scope was formerly doubtful: and for the time to come those who are entrusted with the duty of drafting new Acts always take care to specify in what parts of the heterogeneous empire which Englishmen govern in India,

such Acts are to be appealed to as law. Acts XIV and XV of 1874 cleared up the obscurities of the past, and ordinary care obviates fresh difficulties for the future ; while under the Act of Parliament just quoted, and this Scheduled Districts Act, the Viceroy with his Executive Council and the Local Governments are the sole legislators for all backward and semicivilized regions. This is as it should be. We see at a glance that the variety and territorial extent of these measures attests the need of the strong arm of Government and goes far towards showing that an uniform and centralised Government is only suitable for races in which all discordant elements have been fused by centuries of union into homogeneity. The time is very far distant when the Sonthal and the Gond can be governed in the same way—aboriginal though they both be—or even when Pathans of the same root and stem can be treated alike, for the interposition of 300 yards of the water of the Indus has now sundered them into various wholly dissimilar branches. The experience, whose expression is found in the Chap. III. of 33 Vict., has been dearly bought, and has finally won a signal victory over doctrinaires whose sphere of vision went no further than the Channel Islands. One morsel of history is covered up in Section 39 of the Punjab Laws Act. Till the year 1860, the criminal law of the Punjab was mostly contained in that bulky digest of the Bengal Regulations which was compiled by Mr. Beaufort, who only the other day retired from the appointment of Judge of the 24-Pargunnahs. But in the last-named year the present permanent incumbent of the Foreign Secretaryship, being Assistant to the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, drew up a new code which was put in practice and endured till 1862. At that time all else of criminal law was swept off by the Penal Code, but the old regulation remained good in our older province for all crime committed prior to 1st January 1861. And thus it came to pass that the man who was tried in 1872 for murders at Delhi in 1857 was tried under the old Bengal Regulations. This trial brought to prominent notice the fact that the Punjab had had three criminal codes, diverse and distinct, in as many years ; and whereas the two which had prevailed in other parts of India were confusing enough, it was enacted that Aitchison's synopsis, as it was called, should be retrospectively repealed, and that all offences committed prior to 1st January 1862 in territory which was at the time under the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab should be henceforth referred only to the Penal Code of India. This synopsis is not mentioned in section 39, but comes under the general repealing clause at the end of Act IV of 1872. While we write we perceive that the Legislative Council is busy on local land revenue and Local Laws Act for Oudh to which, no doubt,

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mutatis mutandis, our remarks concerning the Punjab Laws may be applied. The administration report of the Punjab already quoted, remarks on this matter thus: "The principle of laying down in an Act the general outlines of a measure, leaving local Governments and Administrators to fill in the details by rules drafted by themselves, but approved by the Government of India * * * * combines the action of the best legal knowledge and skill with the fullest results of local experience and permits the observance of the infinite local peculiarities of a great Empire to be associated with the assertion of juridical principles."

We enter now on the third branch of our Review—the Laws embodying abstract principles of justice. The first in order is the Limitation Act, IX. of 1871. Its principal recommendation is its symmetry, and the simplicity as well as clearness of its arrangement. Wiping out the old undigested masses of rulings, wherein things like were dissevered, and things unlike were put cheek-by-jowl together, wherein you never could find what you wanted and found much that was noxious, we have now all the leading principles of law on the matter of limitation conveniently arranged in 29 sections, treating of the various forms of legal disability, the methods of computing limitation in various stated conditions, and the acquisition of ownership by long possession of easements; while the various different causes of action which can arise are set out in a succinct table, showing opposite each, class of case, what is the period within which one may sue for the redress of a grievance under it; and also from what event appertaining to each, the period is to be reckoned. There are probably few laws so simple, and yet so full. The Evidence Act is by no means equally clear. It is an attempt to reduce to a number of abstract propositions the main principles of a branch of law which is a study in itself; and the result is that, in our judgment, the condensation has been too great. Although this might have been relieved by a wealth of illustration, in its present state the law is too bald and dry for any but highly-trained, and logical and receptive intellects to apprehend. The bulk of our native judges give it up in despair, and we have a shrewd suspicion that you might tell on your fingers the number of judicial authorities in each province who have thoroughly understood, or are able to remember, the nice distinctions as to relevant facts, burden of proof, and such like recondite affairs which it professes to explain. It should always be remembered that any highly philosophical law like this, is, like pure mathematics, *per se*, distasteful to most men, and until the practical application of each section is lucidly set forth in illustrations whose use was first manifested in the Penal Code, it is not every mind which can admire it, or understand it, or

Consequently remember it, still less apply it. Moreover, that which is hard and severe in English is doubly severe in a foreign dress; and since a large proportion of our judges know only some Indian vernacular or classical tongue, their difficulties in dealing with the Evidence Act are real and great. It is true that many of them only require very simple rules for the decision of simple cases, but yet in measure, as is their capacity such is their work, and the rules as they stand being beyond their capacity, it is evident that their work cannot be what it ought to be.

It is only to the shell of this excellent law that we take exception. The marrow and kernel is sound, wholesome, meat for those who can take it. But it is certainly strong meat. The Contract Act, which is the third of the purely abstract laws we discuss, is a comprehensive body of law on every form of contract known to civilized states and communities. Here again the illustrations might well have been simpler, and drawn more from the daily life of the country folk; the many illustrations taken from shipping contracts in various forms, are Greek to 99 per cent. of the population, and unfamiliar to the large majority both of judges and lawyers, while those which treat of theatrical contracts are singularly misplaced in a country where every native actress is a courtesan, and every native actor a pimp. However, these blots are inseparable from the birth-place of the Act, the study table of an English lawyer, and we admit that the large majority of illustrations are well chosen and clear. The body of the Act too is well arranged; its sections are all brief, and its subject-matter relates to topics of more or less concernment to everybody, and can be therefore easily understood. An admitted defect in it is, that it contains no law of specific performance; but this has been since cured by the enactment of a separate law on the subject. The Contract Act, like the Penal Code, was the result of many years of labour by many men both in England and India; and the outcome is, on the whole, certainly matter of sincere gratulation to all who drew it, and who have to work it. Some few sections appear superfluous, as for instance 142-43, which are but illustrations to section 14; but on the whole, considering the extent of legal territory covered, and the distinctness of the manner in which the various propositions are affirmed and illustrated, it must be pronounced to be a valuable and complete Act, for even the specific performance law was purposely left out of it for reasons of due weight, although some authorities advocated its insertion in the same Act. The Oaths Act X. of 1873 finds place for comment here. Its general object was to simplify some oaths and abolish others. It is now no longer necessary for judicial officers to be sworn in for the due performance of their duties. The old three-foolscap pages of oaths for a Justice of the Peace are abolished. The

Legislature has wisely held that a man who would not deal justly and truly without being sworn to it, would not be bound by the sanctions of an oath. And the Act restores the nearest approach to trial by wager which modern civilisation permits; for it enacts a provision which some High Courts had pronounced to be illegal, under which when one party to an action consents to be bound by the oath on a certain formula accepted by the other party, the suit shall be decided according to such oath, and such decision shall not be open to appeal, provided that such oath shall not be scandalous or indecent, nor purport to affect any third party. It is therefore left to decide finally that A does not owe B any money when they both agree that it shall be thus decided if A swears to that effect on the Koran or Ganges' water. But not so, if the oath is to be on A's child, as in such case it purports that A's child shall become the object of the Divine displeasure. In England all forms of trial by wager have been done away with since the beginning of this century, when Mary Ashford drowned herself in a pit, and her seducer was tried for it and acquitted, but was afterwards obliged to prove his innocence by fighting her brother under order of a court of justice. That case exhibited the folly of trial by wager or ordeal. It was the last relic of a barbarous and cruel expedient for discovering the truth when no one would tell it, and as the last memento of witch-floating, and other kindred horrors. Section 8 of the Indian Act X. of 1873 is thus possessed of a peculiar romance of its own.

There are two Acts of a purely political aspect which we now bracket together as indicating our Imperial Sovereignty. Act XI. of 1872 concerning extradition of criminals between our Government and the scores of kings and princelings who fringe our territory all round or reside in patches of country within the general limits of British India, and Act V. of 1874, under which the Viceroy is authorised to prohibit any foreign state from enlisting recruits for its army within British India. The need of both these laws is patent, and it is curious that their need should never have arisen before. Till this Act, the clearest law of extradition was in some rules contained in a despatch, No. 3, which the Court of Directors sent on 1st June 1836 to the Government of Madras; and another set devised by Lord Lawrence in the early days of our rule in the Punjab, appertaining primarily to Cashmere. There is an apparent want of reciprocity in the provision that, while criminals of foreign territory committing certain specified crimes in British territory and escaping back to their own land must always be given up to British courts when demanded, it is not so with criminals of British territory who return into it after committing any of those crimes in foreign territory. They must be tried in British courts. The Court of

Directors explain this as "justifiable not less as a proper prerogative of the paramount power, than on the ground of the inequality in the state of civilisation, and jurisprudence under the British Government and that of Native States." The same sentiment is expressed in more racy phrase by the vigorous Chief Commissioner of the Punjab in a running comment which he appended to the rules abovementioned as devised by him. It was appropriate when a Company of Merchants was the paramount power, much more is it so when the paramount power is an Empress.

Proceeding with our subject we come to those laws of the period, appertaining to matters which we have denominated social. It is not a very clear definition, but for want of a better we adopt this term to indicate those laws which are purely Anglo-Indian in their complexion, which spring from a state of society created wholly or partially by English government supervening on Indian society. The most startling innovations of this kind belong to a bye-gone age; the abolition of *satti*, the legalization of widow-marriage, the prohibition of infanticide and enactment of a special law against it, all come into a historical era with which we have no concern when considering legislation subsequent to 1870. But this same epoch has not been wholly unmarked by legislation of this kind, and in point of interest in it are those social laws which are of universal moment. The order we have followed throughout this paper is chronological, and by its guidance we turn first to the Registration Act of 1871. It massacres only five innocents and amputates a limb of a sixth, in its first schedule; but then it embalms their memory by recording as in a *monumentum ære perennius* all their virtues, and hiding all their faults in strictly correct and charitable fashion. Do we offend against politeness by raking up from the ashes of the dead one odious feature, and contemplating its ugliness, ere forgetting it for ever? Even if so, we cannot but express sincere pleasure in noting the disappearance of sections 53-54 of Act XX. of 1866 from Act VIII. of 1871. These were the sections authorising what was termed special registration; whereby after a simple payment of double fees, and a friendly wink of the eye between the money-lender and the sub-registrar, the latter "specially registered" a document, and the former then had power to take out execution on it within one year of the time fixed for payment, as of an unsatisfied decree. These provisions were an unnecessary novelty, sadly unsuited to Indian society, where the problem is not, as in England, to save the moneyed-man from sharpers, but where the sharper is always the money-lender and his victim is his client. It is the same in half the things we have done in India. We have the best intentions conceivable, but we

forget that we must begin by looking at everything upside down. A Native shows you his respect by pulling off his shoes, an Englishman by pulling off his hat ; a Native by touching the morsel he wants to give you first with his own fingers, an Englishman by only touching it with a fork ; a Native puts down his umbrella when he comes home on its handle, because he uses it as a parasol, an Englishman puts it on its point, because it is to him a *parapluie* and he must drain off its wet. And so on all round—when shall we learn it ? However, special registration is gone—may its ogre-like voracity be known no more ! It is curious to contemplate the debates which went on last hot season in Olympus, over the amendments which have since been passed as a new Act in the matter of compulsory registration of documents respecting real property of a value less than Rs. 100. Our own opinion is in favour of such registration as unquestionably tending to defeat fraud by publicity, though it might not be necessary to lower the limit to zero, and it might stand at 50 as a compromise between the old system and one which would be unnecessarily harassing those whose transactions, measured even in silver at its present value, are small. The Pensions' Act of 1871 merely regulates that which the giver of pensions has an indefeasible right to direct : the state has herein laid down one rule, however, which materially touches the general public by forbidding any court to attach any pension yet unpaid to the pensioner. This exception to the general rule of procedure whereby debts due from A to B may be attached by C if he has a decree against B, was caused by the inconveniences of the credit which deposed princelings formerly enjoyed ; and the cost to Government which their lavishness usually threw on it sooner or later. Have we forgotten the debts of the King of Oudh, the Nawabs of Arcot, the son of Tippoo, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal ? Certainly not. The second and fourth of these are now disfranchised, for Acts XVII. of 1873 and XX. of 1873 have taken from them for ever the power of incurring debt, and recent disclosures in the *Gazette of India* have shown that it was high time. The Member of Parliament to whom £2,000 was lent by the Nawab Nazim, which was not his own to lend, and who has unluckily till now forgotten to repay it, has had something to explain. If our indulgence to these princelings was so abused, surely it was time for it to cease. On this same principle it is enacted by the Pensions' Act that no pension is to be attached. As the pensioner's credit is hereby destroyed no one will henceforth lend him money, and his follies must stop short at a point before that when they become embarrassing to Government. The two next Acts of this year, XXIII. and XXIV., deal with the matter of Government loans to municipalities and agriculturists, and the

principle already discussed as to the Punjab Land Revenue Act of giving Government authority to make rules supplementary to the Act, is here also enforced. The former Act is useful and workable as it stands, but the latter is rendered largely inoperative by the enforcement of interest (in those parts of the Empire where it is enforced.) An agriculturist will either pay interest to a money lender whom he can always persuade into extending the term for repayment of the principal, or he will borrow without interest from Government, though he knows he must pay his instalments up to date. But where the rigor of punctual payment is made to co-exist with the demand for interest even at 6 per cent., the risk of bankruptcy is too great: loans are taken to a very limited extent, and the flourish of trumpets with which Lord Mayo's Government inaugurated the change from Takkavi Advances to Land Improvement Loans, dies away on the ear in the moans of a disappointed nation, who think that the old was better by far than the new, albeit the latter is couched in legal phrase and honored by being bound up in the statute book. Nearly akin to this is the North India Canals and Drainage Act of 1873. We all recollect that when this measure was first proposed and passed, it contained some clauses compelling those persons to pay canal advantage rates near to whom a canal ran, even if from choice or poverty they did not take the water. The press with almost one voice denounced this iniquity, but it was not till the Secretary of State vetoed the whole bill that these clauses were struck out. The writer enjoyed the privilege of seeing an early Minute on this Act by one of the members of the Indian Council in England; and though confidence forbids the mention of his name, it may be noted that the arguments against it fiscally, politically and socially were quite unanswerable, and resulted in North India escaping from a grave wrong. This same year saw a revision of the North-West Provinces' Rent Act, under the number of XVIII. of 1873, and its twin the North-West Provinces' Land Revenue Act XIX. of 1873. It has been often remarked how indissolubly in India revenue and rent are connected, and how when Government modifies the former, the latter is, *ipso facto*, modified along with it: for it is evident that if x means the net produce, y the Government share and z the landlord's share, then the mere alteration of y into $y+5$ does not raise x into $x+5$, but simply diminishes z to $z-5$. The two matters being so inseparably combined, whenever Government legislates for its own share, or, indeed, whenever it touches land revenue at all, it finds its hand in a hornet's nest, from which a mass of fresh legislation alone can free it. Act X. of 1859 broke down from a variety of causes which need not be commented upon; and so a new Land Revenue Act and also a new Rent Act became neces-

sary, fixing constitutions of courts, and their powers; the rules concerning tenancy, ejectment, improvements, and the multiform varieties which Protean transformations of tenures superior, inferior, proprietary, *talukdari*, and what not, drew in their train.

Turning to another and totally alien subject connected with general social laws, we come to those regulating the sadly perplexing subject of European vagrants, which has now, alas, become further complicated by the Poor White question. The first Act on this subject was passed in 1869, when it had become clear that the English or European loafer, whether discharged seaman, soldier, mechanic, or horse-keeper from Australasia, was dangerous to individuals, to himself, and to the good fame and name of English rule in India. It was needful to give power to every magistrate, whether a justice of the peace or not, to arrest and hold certain judicial enquiries on any such persons found strolling in the interior: it was found necessary to establish work-houses for such men and to devise schemes for deporting them by sea. This law was amended by Act XXVIII. of 1871, and in 1874, by Act IX of that year. The former Acts were again much amended and enlarged; but the subject is so complex that even this law is not sufficiently stringent or elastic, and an amendment of it is now on the legislative anvil. Other genera of the wild beast "*homo*" are to be cribb'd, cabined, caged, confined, by the Criminal Tribes Act. By a peculiar irony of history, this stood in the 1871 state book as the twin-brother of the last, and next to it. Was it meant to put the reclaimed Australian convict in a cask with the *thug*? the dissolute platelayer with the Boureeah thief? Now, when once any of those unfortunate tribes or fraternities whom the rampant ostracism of caste, and the black brand of birth, doom to live by preying on their neighbours or pandering to their vices, are laid under the ban of this Act, no Roman interdict is so severe. Each man, woman and child is counted, and enrolled, must live where he is bid, and find a livelihood in the precise manner prescribed by the magistrate. The conflicting necessities of settled government on the one side, and hereditary license on the other, have now clashed. The only way of escape from a dilemma which has puzzled every administrator for the last century, has been found at last in the pages of this stern enactment. It throws on the State the grave responsibility of providing work and suitable residences for considerable bodies of people; and care must be taken that they are not so herded as to engender pestilence, for this has happened years ago in the writer's own experience of a modified and irregular form of such working. But patience and zeal may be trusted to evolve a happy solution of a problem which in its every-day details may sometimes be perplexing enough. In its character

of a bouleversement of conditions tolerated, if not sanctioned by usage, this law takes rank with the orders concerning *Satti* and child-killing. While they dealt proximately with the preservation of life, this deals mainly with the protection of property : but inasmuch as the persons affected are ignoble and out-casts, the undercurrents of Native society have flowed peacefully by : and we have from the Native press had little opposition to a change which in principle differs in no way from that which inspired those other laws which were fiercely opposed.

The last of the social Acts of this year of legislative activity is the Weights and Measures Act of 1871, which was passed by the Governor-General on 30th October of that year. Its history is peculiar : but as we fully discussed it before—when it was still inchoate we refrain from flogging a dead horse now. Proceeding to 1872 we find a new marriage law formulated in Act III. of that year to meet the necessities of those unhappy persons whose creed is the negation of all creeds—some of whom call themselves Brahmos—some Comtists—and so on. They have their marriage-law now. we trust it may operate to hold together such members of society as are obliged to allow that even negation must have a limit, unless chaos is to be renewed, and that there are matters which the law of man must perforce take cognizance of. The Christian marriage-law was also re-enacted and cleared from doubts by Act XV. of this year—while an Act of 1876 numbered V. enabled Government to prevent juvenile delinquency by the Establishment of Reformatory Schools ; the vexed question of legal majority having been set at rest the year before by Act IX. of 1875, and that of married-women's earnings being protected from violent and dissolute husbands by one of the previous year known as III. of 1874. These with some of minor value concerning the Administrator General's Office, and such like, exhaust our list of social Acts of the period under review.

From social Acts of universal enforcement let us turn to those of limited object and scope. The Emigration Act repealing five former laws on the same subject has placed on a footing as satisfactory as the nature of the case permitted, a practise which was rapidly degenerating into little better than slave hunting. The Protector of Emigrants at every port in British India whence emigrants depart, now has full authority to prevent abuse, and every needful regulation as to medical attendance, contracts of service remaining optional, inspection of emigrants, &c., &c., is duly enforced, while legal authority is given to a convention between the Queen and the Emperor Napoleon III. preventing abuses arising out of the system in all French colonies. The necessity for this arose out of the orders given by the Emperor prohibiting the importation of Africans into any French Colony : and the Act

therefore has a special interest just now that slavery and the treatment by British Naval officers of escaped slaves have been of late so much before our eyes. Other laws of this period are those which lend succour to various chieftains or landholders by establishing special authority for treating them as insolvents. The wasteful talukdars of Oudh and the impoverished Thakurs of Broach ; besides the Princes of Arcot and of Bengal already mentioned, have come under the fostering care of enactments which render them incapable of further encumbering their estates, and justify the Government in taking those estates under official care, and even in some cases, of borrowing money wherewith to pay off older debts.

We have written more than it was in our design to write, but in truth the vastness of the subject must be our excuse. We seem to be like a man in a balloon who sailing over seas and islands, towns and villages, can mark no more than general features with a glimpse of detail here and there. Such a birdseye view we have tried to take and record, and in conclusion only add by way of synopsis that codification has superseded innovation ; that useless and obsolete laws have been swept into the "oubliette" of time by the hundred ; that every one may now see immediately what laws govern Santhalistan, or Edwardesabad, Bombay or Lahore ; that the plan of enacting laws to be worked by supplementary rules has proved eminently successful and capable of wide expansion ; that a body of substantive law on contract, evidence, inheritance, marriage, minority, and so forth has been given us ; that procedure has been simplified and yet more exhaustively treated ; last, not least, that where custom, as in many parts of the Punjab, rises above law, the courts are bound to decide by the *lex loci* or custom in lieu of applying recondite Sanskrit or Arabic texts, which have in truth no more interest or value to the people than Magna Charta has to the Tasmanian, or the Statute of Frauds to a Californian gold-digger. The idiosyncrasies of peoples, diverse as Spaniards and Shetlanders, have been consulted. Where adultery leads universally to bloodshed, unless both guilty parties be punished, women may be imprisoned, for it as well as their seducers : where all religious forms of marriage are distasteful, there is a law dispensing with them and yet knitting together society by firm laws of wedlock ; and so on in a variety of instances tedious to enumerate, yet each worthy of study by the historian, the ethnologist, the lawyer, or the politician. We have purposely disregarded several laws whose elaboration and enactment has caused many a weary hour of labour to scores of men. But our difficulty has been to select, not to expand ; and while trying to miss nothing of very wide and imperial concernment, to refrain from padding on a subject whose ramifications are endless, and whose instructiveness is inexhaustible.

H. E. PERKINS.

ART. VII.—THE RENT QUESTION. *

A REPLY TO SIR HENRY RICKETTS' LETTER. BY A ZEMINDAR.

THE arguments brought forward by Sir Henry Ricketts in answer to my article on the Rent Question in Bengal, published in the *Calcutta Review* for July last, may be thus summarised :—

I. The number of occupancy rayats "is in all probability very much where it was" when Act X of 1859 was passed, "neither increased, nor diminished;" there is no reason therefore to apprehend (as I do) that they will become extinct in consequence of a distinction in rent-rates between them and the non-occupancy rayats.

II. It is almost impossible "to determine what in all cases would be a fair proportion of the produce to be paid as rent for land," "the insuperable difficulty" being "the variety of the circumstances of cultivation,—a difficulty that no legislation can meet."

III. Therefore it is best to keep to a distinction in rent-rates between occupancy and non-occupancy rayats, to let the rents of the latter be adjusted by supply and demand, and to allow the occupancy rayats a percentage upon the competitive rates thus determined.

I. In reply, I freely endorse the opinion cited from Mr. Dampier's report and fully believe that at present, the number of occupancy rayats has actually increased rather than diminished. This, however, I am inclined to think, is entirely due to a temporary cause. The people have not yet perceived nor asserted the full extent of their legal rights. The distinction as to rent-rates between the two classes of rayats, first recognised in the ruling of the Calcutta High Court in the case of Thakurani Dasi, and since sought to be legalised by more definite enactment, is not yet widely known,—much less acted upon; and the rayats not having asserted their legal rights, the zemindars have not felt the necessity of examining and enforcing their own. Such a state of things, however, cannot last long; sooner or later the zemindars will realise the facts, that non-occupancy rayats when left to themselves grow into occupancy rayats and become entitled to privileged rents which seriously affect the zemindars' income, and that by a simple measure they can prevent the evil. The moment the zemindars duly appreciate these facts, they will bestir themselves and bind all their non-occupancy rayats to the condition that length of occupation will not entitle them to the privileged rents. The growth of the occupancy class being thus put an end to, their final extinction will obviously be only a question of time, under the

disintegrating effects of two privileges enjoyed by zemindars, *viz.*, the right to evict an occupancy tenant for default in the payment of rents and the right to veto transfers of occupancy-tenures.

II. 1. Division of produce for an equitable assessment of rents is not so impracticable as Sir Henry maintains, but is on the contrary a principle very commonly observed in practice. This is evident from the prevalence of the *Metayer* rents in all parts of the world, of the *ooshur* in Mahomedan countries, and of the tithes among the Christians. The universality of the practice is a guarantee that the principle is tolerably equitable.

2. The proper way to view the question is to split it into two parts. (*a*) We have to prescribe a convenient and tolerably-equitable rule for assessment of rent-rates, as between zemindars and rayats; (*b*) we have to adopt some measure to remove the nicer inequalities in the rent-charge as between the rayats themselves. The principle of division is excellently adapted to attain the first-named object; and it has to be supplemented by another provision (included among my suggestions) to meet the other exigency, *viz.*, the grant of a right to the rayats to make transfers of their tenures. If the rent of any plot of land, assessed upon the principle of division, be comparatively lighter than that of another, by reason of any difference in the peculiar circumstances of cultivation, then, with such a right of transfer, the exchange-value of the one will be proportionately higher than that of the other. By this means, the annual profits, or more accurately, periodical advantages of every possible description, will be fairly and equably capitalized; and after the tenures have been once bought and sold, all tenants will be equally well off, considering the prices they will have paid, no matter how high or how low their respective rents might be. Such has actually been the case with the permanently-settled lands, of which the revenue-assessment was notoriously unequal. An equalization like this, will be in accordance with the same law of supply and demand that Sir Henry so powerfully advocates, but which I would see applied in a different manner.

3. The real objection, however, to the *metayer* system is that there might be lands of which the cost of cultivation would exceed in value the share allotted to the cultivator; and for this ample provision was made in my scheme.

4. A free right to sell their tenures is, however, too valuable a concession for the zemindars to make to the rayats; and hence a rule of pre-emption was further proposed by me, by way of compensation. I am aware that in some places a custom is said to have grown up, depriving the zemindar of his veto, and making transfers of tenures valid, independently of his sanction. It is still, however, an open question whether such a custom can be pleaded at all against

the zemindar's right. It cannot be denied that the zemindar had originally this right to veto everywhere : the law clearly recognizes it ; and where the custom adverted to is pleaded, the acceptance of rent from the vendee, may be said to amount to a voluntary withdrawal of the veto by the zemindar. The question would probably be, not one of a special local custom within a definite area, but whether in a particular case, a rayat has acquired the right of transfer according to the doctrine of prescription. To this end the right would probably have to be shown to be exercised by the rayat adversely to the zemindar, in spite of his veto, for a sufficiently long period of time and without interruption. At all events, such exceptional circumstances cannot affect the general fact that the zemindars are in enjoyment of a valuable right. (The value of the right would be measured as the case might be, either by the difference between occupancy and non-occupancy rates of rent or by the rayat's interest in the annual produce of land under the rule of division). As a compensation to this right, the rule of pre-emption was proposed in favor of the zemindar. We have thus to take into account three things each closely bearing upon the rest : (1) a rule of proportion according to the metayer system, (2) the right of transfer of cultivator's tenures by sale, &c., to supplement the above, and (3) a rule of pre-emption by way of compensation for the right of transfer.

5. Apart, however, from the respective merits of the two modes of assessing rents—by division of the produce and by open competition—there are good grounds why the rule of division and that rule alone ought to be adopted. The Permanent Settlement distinctly lays down that the zemindar is entitled only to the difference between a certain proportion of the produce of every *bigha* of land demandable by sovereign power according to the custom of the country and the amount payable into the public treasury. (Regulations XIX, XXXVII and XLIV of 1793, Preambles). In other words it recognises the right of the cultivator to the *remaining proportion* of the produce. My article was intended chiefly to show the universality of the custom alluded to, in the shape of the metayer system, and the evolution of *all* the existing modes of assessing rents from that system from a date long anterior to the Permanent Settlement. Whether therefore we take into account the provision of the law or the pre-existing right in the cultivator, of which he cannot be said to have been deprived, the recognition of the principle of division is simply unavoidable.

6. The amount of the proportion is quite a separate question ; and if stress is laid upon my inability to pronounce upon this point, it cannot be denied that some important data in regard to it, are well-known to the public, *viz.*, that the revenue-charge was assessed by Akbar at one-third of the average produce and that

the rule of division in respect of Bhag-rents is at present, half and half. It may be a question whether Akbar's assessment did not also restrict the *rent*-charge to one-third ; but inasmuch as Akbar's assessment has never been interrupted nor the share prescribed by him ever reduced, the zemindars may with cogency of argument claim at the least one-third of the produce. I might add that according to some public papers to which attention has been recently called,* Sir Henry Ricketts himself once not only advocated the rule of proportion but proposed so much as two-fifths of the gross produce for the zemindar's share.

However, to define the exact amount of the share or according to my scheme, the several shares, it will, in my humble opinion, be necessary to institute a systematic investigation like that made by Akbar ; and this in part has become feasible, now that the Government is in possession of ample returns under the Road Cess Act, which would show the prevailing rents all over the country.†

III. Sir Henry recommends the appointment of umpires in order to assess a suitable rent, reference being had to the existing supply and demand. He appears to be at the same time in favor of allowing to the occupancy rayats a percentage over the rate paid by the tenant-at-will. I presume that a competition or economic rent is intended to be first assessed and then a percentage is proposed to be deducted from the amount so assessed in the case

* See the Hindu Patriot, dated 16th April 1877, and letter addressed by the British Indian Association to the Government of Bengal, under date the 15th December 1876.

† How lands ought to be compared for the purpose of assessing rents is a question which does not seem to have received all the attention that it deserves. Sir Henry has asked derisively, "could the legislature . . . rule . . . that the rent demandable should be determined by the depth of water found" on the land? Some people *do* in fact classify lands as high or low ; others according to the staple grown ; settlement officers have been known to classify as *Bhum Dumat*, *Motiyyar*, &c., much in the rough and ready way that one would classify soils into sandy, loamy or clayey, &c. ; and the Board of Revenue of the North-Western Provinces appears to have given these irregular methods, their utmost stretch, in the following rule :

"XIII. The classification of the selected areas and holding should be commenced by breaking them up into areas of such distinctive soils whether natural or artificial, as may be recognised by local custom." (*The Indian Agriculturist*, May 1, p. 130.)

But local custom will probably be here found to be incoherent and inadequate. I recommended a money-basis for the comparison, *viz.*, the ratio between the value of produce and the cost of cultivation of the lands to be compared. This principle not having been assailed I would not prolong my reply by dwelling upon it. I would only beg leave to urge that the three data, *viz.*, value of produce, cost of cultivation and existing rent-rates have first to be ascertained *roughly* for purposes of legislation, and that strict accuracy will not be required until the points come to be litigated upon, when too, the closest scrutiny will be practicable.

of occupancy tenures. Now, there are only three conceivable modes of determining rents such as these, *viz.*, 1st, by calculation upon the basis of political economy, 2nd, by comparison of the lands to be assessed with lands actually held under competition, or 3rd, by actual competition.

1. Calculation. We all know how Sir Barnes Peacock once attempted to realise the abstract definition of rent given by Malthus and how as Justice Norman observed "the system broke down by its own weight." The elements of competition do not admit of arithmetical calculation. Mr. Fawcett has rightly said that the theory of rent is not to be imagined as available to "a land steward" for fixing the rent of any particular land.* And the remarks of Mr. W. T. Thornton in a recent paper about competition-prices will apply with equal force upon competition-rents.

"What then" he asks "does regulate competition? My answer is simply, nothing. There is no regularity about competition at all. If it can properly be said to depend upon anything, it depends partly upon individual necessity, partly on individual discretion; and as for the first of these there is proverbially, and for the second manifestly, no law, so likewise is there no law of competition."†

2. Comparison. This method of assessing the rents will not stand the strict tests which Sir Henry applies to the Metayer system. If a competition-rent can be determined by umpires, from comparison with lands actually held under competition, it must be only in a loose manner; and if such laxity is permissible, all objections to the metayer system would fall to the ground, especially when the graduated scale of division recommended is taken into consideration. If we can say that land X ought to be assessed exactly as land A, B or C, we can assess the proportionate rents also, by classifying a number of typical lands A, B, C, &c., in a sufficiently exhaustive manner and fixing the respective proportions assignable to each. Nothing short of this was attempted in my scheme.

3. Actual competition. Strictly to follow out the reasoning of Sir Henry Ricketts to its ultimate consequences, all the cultivable lands in the country should be made over to non-occupancy rayats, holding at competition-rates of rent; and where there are any occupancy rayats, they should be allowed to appropriate a certain percentage upon the rents realised from the non-occupancy rayats, although they have not laid out any money (like the zemindars) in purchasing their rights and although they do not (like the cultivators) employ personal or hired labor for cultivating the land!

* Manual of Political economy, 3rd edition, p. 114. 1676. Art. "Professor Cairnes on value." p. 831.

† Contemporary Review, October

Upon the same principle it would be necessary to repeal clause 1 of Section 18 of the existing rent-law which was based upon Section 7 of Regulation V of 1812 and involves the long established principle of a uniform assessment of rent for all lands of the same class. The intimate connection of this principle with the rent system of this country was shown in my former contribution. The law of supply and demand would simply put an end to it.

Englishmen seem somehow or other to give precedence to the claim of the rayat as based upon the period of occupation, over his claim based upon the labor of cultivation. The claim founded upon length of occupation, is said to have been in supposed accordance with the doctrine of prescription. That doctrine, however, as clearly shown by Sir Barnes Peacock cannot apply in a case like the present; because the occupation in question is permissive and not adverse. Indeed this same principle, regarding permissive occupation, though virtually ignored in sec. 6 of Act X, has had to be upheld in the following section, which enables the zemindar to debar all non-occupancy rayats from the privileges of section 6, by express stipulation. The other claim, which seems to be more rational, would place all cultivators upon an equal footing and, indeed, entitle the non-occupancy cultivator to greater consideration than the non-cultivating occupancy rayat.

In conclusion, I shall say, a few words with reference to the passage in my article about Lord Cornwallis which has been so strongly animadverted upon by Sir Henry. I admit that the language used by me was harsh. Of the benefits conferred upon the zemindars and thence to a very large section of the community by Lord Cornwallis, there can be no question and no question was intended to be raised; in fact, praise from my pen was simply superfluous. But it does not follow that a misconception or haziness about the question of tenant-right could not have crept into Lord Cornwallis' mind. And what better proof of this could be found than the fact that with the same breath an absolute proprietary right in land, with definite rules for exchange of leases upon the principle of voluntary contract, was vested by him in the zemindars, and again that right was limited to no more than a certain proportion of the produce of land, while power was reserved to Government for assessing the amount of rent demandable by the zemindar notwithstanding their so-called absolute proprietary right? And as for the proportion itself, which is above alluded to, the present diversity of opinion, quite as much as the inconsistency noticed above, will amply show whether or no it was a mistake to recognise the principle and yet to leave it open to future discussion or to be ignored outright.

J. C. G.

ISLAM AS IT IS. (*Independent Section*).

By a European Haji.

I.—ITS SOCIAL ASPECT.

A subject which has been treated by English authors with such detail as that with which I am about to deal, requires that before entering upon it I should give my readers some intimation as to my reason for selecting a theme, which it might be thought had already been sufficiently dealt with in the many works, founded on personal experience of the practice of Mahomedanism, or on learned and labourious enquiries into its theories and history, compiled or written by men, who in many instances have been eminently fitted for the purpose they had in hand. But I claim to have viewed and studied Islam from a position which no other writer on the subject has adopted; a position, moreover, peculiarly adapted for the formation of an intimate and correct acquaintance with the subject, as it is exhibited in the daily life of Mahomedans. Having assumed the character of a convert to Islam for nearly two years, I mixed among Mahomedans, not only of India, but also of Arabia, Persia, and other countries, as a Mahomedan, and in that character performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.* My assumed character afforded me many advantages, and facilitated the obtaining of opportunities that enabled me to pursue my study of Islam under the most favourable circumstances—other than the mere fact of my having been thrown into intimate intercourse with the “Faithful.”

Mahomedanism, like all other religious systems, admits of being regarded from many different points of view: thus we may consider it as a scheme for the moral or social protection and direction of its followers, or we may view it as a religious code, and enquire into the divinity of its origin. These are the two points from which Mahomedanism has hitherto been chiefly regarded by Christian writers, to the almost total exclusion of other and less important ones; and it is to the investigation of Islam as a social system, and its influence as such upon its followers, that I shall devote myself principally in these pages.

Probably the most philosophical manner with which I could treat my subject would be to begin at its source—the restless craving for something better—something higher and more spiritual than the puerile idolatry to which he had been trained up—that led Mahomed to retire from society to ponder on religion, and to com-

* I published an account of my the early part of 1876. pilgrimage in the *Bombay Gazette* in

mune in the spirit with his God. This was the immediate cause whence has sprung forth the wonderful and extraordinary results, which form the history of the Mahomedan religion ; and still show themselves in the influence, which a belief in the mission of the prophet exerts upon peoples so widely-separated, in almost all else, as those who collectively form the world of Islam. To treat the subject in this manner would, however, require a far more systematic and prolonged discussion than I am at present inclined to enter upon. Hence my determination to treat of Islam as it is—recognising the existence of facts as of more direct importance than an enquiry into their origin, or an endeavour to reconcile them to the theories on which they are presumed to have established themselves. I will not, however, fix for myself any especial limits, but diverge from a direct line whenever the occasion appears to require it, or such a course seems otherwise advisable.

The Mahomedan religion has been frequently described as one of “forms and ceremonies ;” but nothing can be more erroneous than the idea thus conveyed. Islam, like Christianity, has forms and ceremonies, but it no more professes to make obedience to its written law, or the punctual observance of its prescribed ceremonials, a key wherewith to unlock the adamant gates of paradise, than does the Christian religion profess to provide salvation through the medium of the two sacraments, Baptism and the partaking of the Lord’s Supper. And here we have the most remarkable feature which Islam as a social system presents, admitting its followers to a certain degree of laxity in the performance of their religious duties, by making those duties in no way capable of influencing their ultimate salvation and happiness. It takes away everything which can be considered in the light of an inducement to compliance with formal observances, the number, length and minute details of which form a considerable interruption to the business of the day ; and yet we find among Mahomedans of every race, that the observance of these obligations are in eight cases out of ten, strictly attended to. Nor is this compliance with the rigorous demands of the ceremonial law, ever viewed as a possible passport to heaven by those who observe it. This is the feature, which of all others that Islam presents, seems to me infinitely the most remarkable. Among Mahomedans faith, and faith only, is recognised as the means of attaining eternal felicity. On the other hand if we turn to the most strictly evangelical School of Christianity, we find no such theory advanced. They indeed claim faith as the key of heaven, but they add that faith without works is as utterly ineffectual as works without faith. The Mahomedan who neglects good works is as certain of eventual happiness as he who performs

them, while he only who gives way to temptation and commits sin, is doomed to condign punishment.

Like the Christian religion, Islam admits of the fullest development of the individual characters of its followers. The "Pecksniff," the "Micawber," the "Wellers," and the innumerable other characters which Dickens has so inimitably drawn, may be found moving in every day Mahomedan society, as well as at home. True, as when we look through a coloured glass upon a landscape replete with varying tints, the entire scene assumes the hue of the medium through which we gaze; so in observing the varieties of shade which gives life and colour to Mahomedan life, we find its diversities universally tinged with the hue of orientalism. Nevertheless, in the former case, let us make the necessary allowance for the effects of the modifying medium, and we at once recognise the perfection of the landscape, and notwithstanding the uniformity of tint, discover beneath it that light and shade, and minute modulations of coloring, which is a type of nature's handiwork. And thus it is that beneath the outward uniformity of character which Islam has thrown over the daily life of its followers, the skilled analyst of human thoughts and feelings will find beneath the monotony of the prevailing tint, a rich and ever varying diversity of sentiment and character. Here is the error into which the Western observer generally falls when contemplating Mahomedanism: Islam, like a coloured atmosphere surrounds and envelops all that he sees, and in the very eagerness of his search he fails to penetrate the cloud, and thus receives the impression that all that his eye rests upon bears the same monotonous hue. Islam is as fixed and unalterable a law as were the decrees of the Medes and Persians of old supposed to be; but while from the strictness and minuteness of its injunctions, it maintains a certain uniformity of external or formal character among its followers, its theories leave the mind free to range at will and select its tenets from a field fully as diversified as the orthodox Protestant church affords. What in fact the iron rule of the Protector temporarily accomplished in England, what the senile cant of Louis the XIV. brought about for a time in Paris, is this what Islam has done permanently. No one will or indeed can deny, that on ninety per cent. of professing Christians, Christianity produces no external marks, no peculiarities of manner, custom, or habit of thought which can serve to identify them from infidels, atheists, theists, or what not, so far as their daily lives are concerned. The average Christian decides his daily actions not by the Bible code, but by the code of honour, and that intuitive sense of right and wrong which we term conscience; not so the Moslem. We speak of a man being conscientious, he speaks of his being obedient to the law—in another word, religious. Islam like Hindooism,

like Brahmoism, like Christianity, like all religious systems which have ever existed or ever will exist, has produced many hypocrites—religious pretenders who are outwardly scrupulous and finical about their “duty,” but are inwardly as “whited sepulchres.” I have compared the effects of Islam, to the forced religion of the English Commonwealth and the latter years of Louis the XIV.’s reign—but the parallel is scarcely just. The religious enthusiasm of these periods was hypocrisy of the worst kind—forced and unnatural; but the enthusiasm which is universal throughout Islam is spontaneous and natural. How to account for this fact, apparently contrary to the natural order of man’s inclinations, is not so difficult as it may at first appear; and the solution of the problem lies in the different aspects in which the Christian and the Moslem regard God. It cannot, I think, be questioned that to the Christian the pre-eminent attribute of the Divinity with which he is concerned, is His justice. The very lowest of the uneducated classes at home, regard God simply as a judge; as the being who will hereafter apportion to them either eternal punishment or eternal bliss “according to their works,” and this idea is not lost though slightly modified among the better educated classes. Such an idea, though known to the Moslem, exercises but the faintest possible influence upon him. To him Mercy is a synonym for the Deity, as it is the one attribute of the Divinity on which he longs to dwell. How strikingly is this fact evidenced in many incidents of my intercourse with Mahomedans in my assumed character. Over and over again, when rebuked by men of varying religious character and sincerity for neglecting religious obligations, my reply that “God is the merciful, the forgiver,” * has been accepted as a sufficient excuse. To the Moslem there is nothing to fear from God for disobedience, nothing to gain from obedience.† Such being the case, how comes it that the Moslem is so obedient to the most exacting duties required of him? Probably the most active cause is the consensus of opinion on the subject. The Moslem who neglects his duties (except a convert) is not advised nor spoken to on the subject by his co-religionists, but as fast as his indifference to his religious duties becomes developed, so does he find himself gradually slipping out of the pale of the society in which he at first moved, until eventually, without any direct or marked break in his intercourse with his fellows, he becomes a social outcast. He still speaks and is spoken to, and none but those initiated in the daily life of Mahomedans could mark any peculiarity in the intercourse; but none the less does he and those he confers with recognize the fact that “between me and thee there is a great

* *Allaho Akbar wa al Ghafur.*

† I refer here only to sins of “omis-

sion” and not to sins of “commission.”

gulf fixed." The Christian who has fallen from the path of rectitude is spurned and contemned, insulted and loathed by those who before hailed him with pleasure. Not so the Moslem in a similar condition ; he may be a fallen brother, but he is still a brother. Pity and not contempt, sorrow and not censure, are meted out to him. Hence religion becomes to the Moslem a bond of unity to all that enchains his earthly affections. Again, to the Christian the very existence of God, though ever admitted, is seldom if ever recalled to his thoughts amidst the hurry and bustle of his every-day life. To the Moslem the image of God is almost ceaselessly present. He closes his eyes at night, breathing a declaration of His Unity and His Mercy ; his first words in the morning are but a repetition of the same truths ; throughout the day, his meals, his out-goings, his incomings, his business, his intercourse with his friends and acquaintances, in fact almost all that he does recalls the existence of God to him, through the medium of phrases and exclamations of pious import, which seem never to lose this power from the frequency with which they occur. Those who have had an opportunity of watching the course of Moslem conversation, cannot fail to have noticed this fact. Often does the simple reply, *Subhan Allah*—Praise be to God, the common rejoinder to an enquiry as to a person's health—lead to a discussion, brief but earnest, on religious topics. Indeed no thinking man can move amongst Mahomedans, and listen to or take a part in their ordinary discourse without having his reflections turned towards "thoughts of another world than this, where all is pure and holy." Such at least has been my experience. Here, then, we have in these two facts, an explanation of the cause which produces the religious aspect which tones all Islam. It is the custom among Christian writers to brand this admission or rather intermixture of religion with the every-day affairs of life, as the result of hypocrisy. Nothing can be more false or more unfounded. Islam, as I have said, has its hypocrites, its Pecksniffs who make a trade of religion, but it has none of that lesser hypocrisy which is so painfully evident among Christians. When the Moslem ejaculates, *Insha 'Ulah*, if it please God, he recognises the full force of what he says and he means it ; when he exclaims that his misfortunes are the will of God, he shows by his actions that he utters no meaningless profession of faith. How many Christians are there to whom these statements would apply ? We profess a faith, a trust in God, which scarce one in a thousand of us really has.

We find it an almost invariable rule that men who devote their time and energies to one particular object, become intellectually cramped and incapable of appreciating other subjects. Intense application to a speciality, blunts our keenness for other studies, and it might be thought that the pre-eminent position which

religion takes among Mahomedans, would tend to prevent their entering upon more worldly themes with any great degree of enterest. Indeed some writers have asserted this to be the case. It is not so; religion undoubtedly obtains among them a more universal and frequent consideration than any other theme, but it does not by any means totally exclude mundane affairs, nor does it mar their enjoyments. The native theatres of Bombay attract alike the Cabulee and the Arab, who understanding but little of the dialogue follow the *exits* and entrances of the various characters with intense interest. As a specimen of the manner in which such amusements are regarded, I will give an incident from my experience in Bombay. The play was, if I remember correctly, *Indur Sabha*, one of the most popular dramas of the Hindustani stage. I and my two companions, one a native of Mecca, the other a Cabulee, were seated among the "gods," who in an Indian theatre occupy the lower instead of the upper regions. During the play a *Lall Dev* (red devil or satyr) appeared: "now God be praised, but that is a devil (*shytan*)" quoth the Arab. "Oh Mahomed, how can you talk of God, his name he praised, and the devil in one breath?" cried the Cabulee. "Why not" rejoined the man of Mecca "wouldn't you say God save us from the devil the pelted of stones"?* "True, but it is not good to use such words here in a theatre; it is bad to pray in an unclean house." "By God † if it is bad to say God's name here, it is worse to come and sit here." This is the test by which the Moslem commonly decides all questions of right or wrong; and reminds me of the "converted collier" who created such a sensation in England some five years ago. Preaching one time in Dublin he exclaimed—"would you like to die in a theatre, or in a gin-palace, or in a gambling hell, because if you would, there's no harm in going to them (*sic*) places. This is, in fact, a common notion among "Methodists;" Christians in general refer religion to "its proper time and place;" the Moslem holds every time and place not directly connected with sin, as fit for religious discourse. The dialogue which I have just given will show that "opinions differ" among the faithful as to the legitimacy of theatrical entertainments. Many indeed hold them unlawful, others go from the masjid to the theatre. I have myself seen a Moslem ‡ praying in a theatre, not of course, when the

* *A'oz billah min esshytan errageem*, the exclamation which every good Moslem uses when he yawns, the prophet having said that "the devil jumps down a yawning throat;" the phrase is also used during the *hajj*, when stoning the devils at Mina.

† *Wallah*, the common oath of an

Arab.

‡ Here as everywhere else throughout these prayers I limit the phrase Moslem, or Mahomedan, and its equivalents to its strict sense—an orthodox, or sunni Mahomedan unless when the words Shiah, &c., may be used in conjunction with them.

performance was going on. This incident will also serve to explain my meaning in affirming that Islam affords an opening for the development of individual character.

"Moulvie," said I one day to a religious friend of mine, "it is forbidden to play games of chance, does the prohibition include billiards (*mez par goli khalna*?) "which is a game of skill?" "It is doubtful," he replied, "but it is better not to engage in it." Such is the general opinion, not only of billiards, but of cards, though among the lower classes in Bombay both games are extremely popular; and I know of one coffee-house at least where "*Puchees*" "twenty-five" is nightly played by men otherwise "in the odour of sanctity." I visited this Moulvie one day, while wearing a *solah topee*, instead of the *fez* which I generally adopted on such occasions. A Shiah who was present made some observation as to my wearing an "English topee" which I did not fully hear; but turning to the Moulvie I asked his opinion as to whether or not it were lawful to wear an article of dress peculiar to Christians. "You are" he replied "a European, why should you not wear the dress to which you are accustomed." I said that it was the general practise for Mahomedans to wear a peculiar kind of head-dress, which served to distinguished them from Hindoos, &c. "God" he replied "has given but one direction as to dress." Much diversity of opinion was expressed to me by Moslems on this subject, but I always came off victor—by asking whether a clean heart (*saf dil*) or a new puggree was the more acceptable to God.

These incidents will be, I trust, sufficient to show that the code of Islam is neither so narrow nor so strict in its obligations as we are commonly told, so far as practise is concerned. The doctrines of Islam are however less open to dispute, though they are not all "assertions which it is heresy to question" as one author asserts; according to the generally-received opinion that *Munkir* and *Nakir*, the two angels who are described as examining a deceased Moslem immediately after his burial, really go through the ceremony of questioning the deceased as to his belief and conduct when in the world. I heard the subject discussed in English by two Mahomedans, one arguing that the account of the ceremony was to be read literally, the other, that it was to be considered *Majuz*, or figurative. A, argued that inasmuch as the prophet had once stated that he had heard the groans of a deceased man who was being belaboured, the passage must be taken in a literal sense. B, maintained the figurative view on the ground that two angels could not possibly pass from grave to grave with sufficient celerity to perform the same task wherever and whenever a Mahomedan was buried; he also viewed the prophet's declaration in a figurative sense, giving as his reason for

so doing two assertions of the prophet, which he worked into a pretty fair syllogism thus :—

The prophet said no *man* can hear the groans of the deceased when being tortured.

The prophet said “ I am only a *man* ;”

Therefore the prophet could not have heard the groaning of a deceased man suffering torture. I need scarcely add that A, was

“ Convinced against his will,
So held his own opinion still.”

A frequent point of disputation is as to what a belief in the *Kalma*, or creed* necessarily implies. The reader who is anxious to know what the two fundamental points of Mahomedan belief may be made to mean, can refer to “ Ockley’s Saracens ” where he will find an explanation of their meaning written by a celebrated divine, and extending over several pages of small type !

The Koran itself declares that it is sufficient for salvation that a man should repeat the *kalma* with a believing heart. Many Mahomedans contend however that a belief in the *kalma* necessarily implies a belief in the principal doctrines of the religion as well, and they base their argument upon the principle that if you believe Mahomed to be the prophet of God, you must also believe whatever he has said—since it is impossible that the prophet of God should either wilfully or unknowingly tell a falsehood. This argument is found among Christians, for it is needless to say that a belief in Christ is held to impress a belief in the doctrines he taught. But although the Koran itself explicitly states that Mahomed’s declaration on religious matter is “ to be received ” (and by inference, as infallible) I have heard many Moslems question whether it was essential to salvation that any other doctrine or doctrines beyond those contained in the *kalma* (in their most limited sense) should be received.

It will now be evident to my readers, that not only has the Mahomedan a certain amount of option as to the degree of attention he pays to the ceremonial portion of the law, and as to his daily conduct, but also as to his belief. All this is radically opposed to what the majority of authors† tell us on the subject, nor need any surprise be felt that it is so. Few if any Mahomedans when writing or speaking of religion will admit that there can be any possibility be a doubt as to the absolute correctness of their own views, and hence men who form their acquaintance with Mahome-

* The *Kalma* exists in several forms, each of which contains however but the two distinct assertions, that “ there is no God but Allah, and Mahomed is his prophet.” This is

the shortest form, and in Arabic reads thus :— *La illaha illallah, Mahomed arrasool’ullah.*

† English and Mahomedan.

danism through the medium of books are frequently led into error. While, however, each Mahomedan holds his own views with as much persistency as any Christian sectarian, unlike the latter, he does not consign all who differ from him to the abode of *Eblis** The character I assumed was peculiarly favourable for an investigation as to the exact amount of uniformity of belief existing among Mahomedans, for each one with whom I conversed viewed me as a possible convert to his own theories and thus pleaded his cause with energy, whereas in disputing with those whom he supposed to be a born Mahomedan, he would adopt the tone of one who argued "for argument's sake," or as though seeking for information—unless, of course, when speaking with an intimate acquaintance.

There are two subjects which may perhaps be most suitably introduced here:—the personal character of Mahomed, and *jehad*, or religious war. We need not dip far into the writings of European authors on these subjects, to detect the impulse under which they write. From Alexander Ross † to Major Osborn, ‡ our authors seem to have considered it their duty when discussing such questions to heap together all the calumny they could, and excite themselves into fierce denunciations of the prophet, as an "ambitious politician," an "assassin," one who sought only "worldly dominion," a "libertine," and so forth; nor is the *jehad* a subject which such writers can afford to discuss calmly, dispassionately or truthfully. *Jehad* had been denounced as being the "obligation under which the faithful lie, to kill and destroy all infidels;" and Europeans generally insist on holding the opinion, that every Mahomedan who neglects an opportunity of giving an infidel the choice between death or Islam is esteemed little better than an infidel himself. Let it be sufficient to say that did the Koran or the *Miskat al Masibah*§ support this theory, there is scarcely a Mahomedan in the country whose hands would not now be dipped in English blood. As pointed out in an able article which recently appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, from the pen of the learned negro, the Revd. Mr. Blyden, an orientalist of no mean attainments and conversant with Mahomedanism, the influence of race has often been mistaken for the influence of reli-

* The devil, said to have received this name when he refused to worship Adam: the name signifies "one who despairs of God's mercy."

† Alexander Ross was the first translator of the Koran into English, and made his translation from André ou Ryers' French Koran: Ross terms the Koran a "gallimaufry of errors."

ly published.

§ The traditions of the prophet. The Revd. Mr. Hughes of Lahore, is I am glad to learn, endeavouring to procure the republication of the only English translation which has ever appeared of this work, which is as important as it is interesting.

gion ; and it is really painful to read the wild ravings of some of the writers who have blundered on this head. It does not, however, come within the scope of this article to discuss the literary productions on either side of the question ; if it did I could quote pages from writers whose fanaticism against Islam must seem to those better acquainted with the subject as little superior to the wild utterings of an alarmed imbecile. Among Mahomedans the feelings towards disbelievers, especially Christians, are rather those of pity and compassion, than of hatred. One evening in Bombay I was sitting in a coffee shop with a Christian, to whom I gave my *hookah* to smoke, this being contrary to the well-known custom of the Indian Mahomedans. I was not surprised when the proprietor's son came up and expostulated with me for "defiling" his *hookah* by such a procedure. I only laughed and resumed the *hookah* myself, whereupon the excitable youth exclaimed "you are a *kafir* (infidel) too." Throwing the *hookah* down I quickly made him retreat with a hotter ear than probably he had ever felt before, and the words "*kelb-bin-kelb*" (dog and son of a dog) echoing after him. The whole assembly rose, and an aged man who was well-known to all present and much respected by them, acting the part of spokesman, enquired from me the reason of my violent procedure. I recounted the circumstances precisely as they had occurred, and while I was mildly censured by the old man for the misconduct of allowing a Christian to smoke a Moslem *hookah*, my adversary was roundly rated for applying the word *kafir* to me. He (my opponent) thereupon explained that it was not to me, but to my companion that he had spoken; "and dost thou not know" quoth the old man, "that a Christian is not an infidel?" (*kafir*), and a regular chorus of "*Subhan Allah, yih t' such bat hai*" (praise be God, these are true words) and such like phrases assented to the statement. This incident shows how false is the theory that Christians are 'hated' by all Mahomedans ; in fact none but a most ignorant Mahomedan would dream of calling a Christian or a Jew a *kafir*. Christians are however *Musrickoona* * literally, that is to say, people who associate another God with God. Christians will of course deny that their belief in the Trinity implies anything of this kind, but with this I have nothing to do—I am simply explaining Mahomedan views on the subject. To return to the *jehad*. Christians though not *kafirs* are still outside the pale of Islam, and being so are open to *jehad* ; hence the subject at the present time especially is one of considerable interest, and the following brief summary of the opinions common among Indian Mahomedans will I hope throw some light on it.

A Mahomedan is not bound to engage in *jehad* against a country or people who permit him to exercise his religion without hindrance,

* *Islam and race distinctions*, Frasers Magazine, November 1876.

nor can a *jehad* be proclaimed without sufficient cause being shown. In the lesser "*jehud*"* the rights of even infidels against whom it is not directed should be respected.

The "*lesser jehad*" is where one or more particular sects have acted aggressively towards Mahomedans, and the *jehad* is directed only against them. The "*greater jehad*"† is when Islam faces all disbelievers, and fights until either all disbelievers are exterminated, yield tribute or are converted. Christians may even assist in the "*lesser jehad*." Towards the close of the pilgrim season of 1875-76, the war in Turkey was formally declared to be a *jehad* by the *ulema* (or council of the learned) in Mecca. On the evening of the day on which I learned this fact, I drove down to a *Musafir-khana*‡ in the native town of Bombay, where I knew I should meet several Arab, Persian, and Hindustani Mahomedans; and having seated myself among them, after the customary salutations, I seized the first opportunity of enquiring whether they had heard of the declaration of the *jehad* at Mecca. "*Jehad!*" cried an *Iranee* (Persian§) who was regarded as a free-thinker, "the Turks can't make a *jehad*, for they want the English to help them." "What a wise man!" retorted the child of Mecca, mentioned in a preceding page, "It is a *Jehad* against *Russ* (Russia) and not against England." "Why" said another, "did not the English and French make *jehad* against Russia for the Sultan (of Turkey) before, why should they not do it again?" From this it may be seen that *jehad* is, in the Mahomedan mind, by no means a synonym for fanaticism, wanton outrage and bloodshed, as Christian writers are continually asserting. If instead of defining a *jehad* as "a war of extermination against infidels," our authors would describe it as "a war in defence of Islam" they would be much nearer the truth.

Before proceeding to the consideration of Mahomed's character as it affects Mahomedans of the present day, I wish to enter a strong protest against the attempts made by many learned orientalisks towards elucidating Mahomedan character and sentiment by philological research. As an example of what I allude to let me refer to Mr. Blyden's article on "Islam and race distinctions." In commenting on Major Osborn's remarks on *jehad*, Mr. Blyden points out that the word *Mushrikun* in the Koran, translated "polytheists" by Rodwell, and "idolators" by Sale, is

* *Jehad esseghir.*

† *Jehad Alkabeer.*

‡ *Musafir-khanalit*, a travellers' house, is the oriental equivalent for the English Hotel. The traveller however gets no other accommodation than empty rooms. He must provide and cook his own meals, &c.

§ *Iranee* means literally a native of Iran, but in India, Arabia, &c., it is more commonly used in the wider sense of any Persian; thus you will here of an "*Iranee Bagdadee*," a Persian of Bagdad. It is also occasionally used as a synonym for the word *Shiuh*.

“a term in which the radical idea is that of association,” and adds that the *sura* or verse in which it occurs, “is addressed to Arabs who believed in and worshipped only the true God, and refers to the treatment to be accorded by them to those Arabs who joined the worship of idols with that of the true God.” Mr. Blyden’s remark on the etymology of the word is most probably perfectly correct, for he is I believe a highly accomplished Arabic scholar; but I assert positively that the inference which he appears to draw, namely, that the word *Mushrikun* in the *sura* alluded to should not be viewed as applying to Christians; however correct it may be, as regards the prophet’s intention when writing the verse, it is totally at variance with the generally received opinion of Mahomedans. I speak on this matter authoritatively because, while engaged in revising the account of my pilgrimage to Mecca, with a view to republishing it, I devoted a good deal of time and trouble to ascertaining the exact meaning commonly applied to the word. Here are briefly some of the answers I received to my enquiries,

Every one not being a Moslem.

Every one except Jews and Moslems,

Every one who believes in more than one God.

Every one who asserts that God is not an Absolute unity, and entirely without an equal.

Now not one of these definitions agrees with Mr. Blyden’s rendering of the word, and the same remark applies to all the answers I received. It must be remembered that to judge of the influence which any part or word of the Koran exerts upon Moslems, we should not seek for the strict etymological meaning, or the philological value of the word, or its root; nor for the sense in which it was originally used—but for the interpretation which the Mahomedans of the present day give to it. Mr. Blyden’s assertion that the *sura* referred to does not direct an indiscriminate and unprovoked *jihad* against Christians is perfectly correct; but the argument on which he bases his opinion is equally wrong, and he thus resembles a man who has walked along a crowded roadway instead of on the footpath, for his safe arrival at his destination is simply a fortuitous occurrence, and he has run a serious and altogether unnecessary risk of being knocked down on the way and so committing a blunder.

We now come to the last question with which I will deal in this paper, namely, the influence which the personal character of the prophet still bears upon his followers.

If we scan the voluminous records of the history of man—omitting Sacred Writ—or labour through the still wider pages of

that fantastic history with which the soaring imagination of mankind in every age and clime, seeking for an ideal perfection of heroism has filled the realms of fiction; there is one name which stands forth from the crowd, like a massive diamond far outshining the paler gems by which it is surrounded, and claims our consideration as a reality superior in its grandeur to all that the mightiest intellect has yet conceived. For centuries buried beneath the scorn and contempt heaped upon it by all who at the time boasted learning or civilization; spurned and contemned, submerged beneath a sea of contumely, that name still shines forth, if not as that of the apostle of God, at least as that of one of the grandest and noblest examples of the might and power of God, as displayed in the abilities He has bestowed upon mankind, His last, as His eternal creation. Granting that the name of Mahomed, the prophet of Arabia, is symbolical of religious error, admitting that it is the living memory of one who cried in bitter acknowledgment of his own weakness—"I am no more than a man,"—allowing that the weakness so freely owned led him into sin—if not into crime; there still rises up a picture of trust in the almighty power and the infinite mercy of God, such as the pages of no other history can record as having been excelled. "We are three, for God is with us" replied the prophet when Aburake feared their approaching foes; and here we have a key to what else would be a mystery. Mortal man, unaided by the strength which can be born alone of pure reliance on God, could never have accomplished that which Mahomed has done. It was one of the bitterest of the curses which Eve brought upon mankind, that taught us to recognise our own weakness. Poor finite man how oft has thy intellectual conceptions towered high unto the heaven of perfection, only that the weight of the mighty structure which it had raised should fall tumbling into ruins overwhelming the base weakness of the flesh on which it was built. How many a loving, longing, aching heart has groaned at the miseries of its surroundings and in the extremity of its anguish cried aloud to God as the old Rabbi to the angel, "I pray thee, write me down as one who loves his fellowmen." Was Mahomed such a man as this?—or was he an ambitious, heartless, revengeful hypocrite as he has been often painted? I am not going to discuss here the *pros* and *cons* of this question; they would be indeed altogether irrelevant to my present purpose; but the character of the prophet is so intimately connected with that of his followers that it is impossible to wholly omit the consideration of it. In no other case which the history of religions produces, can the personal character of the founder or leader claim to have established such a wonderful impression of itself on all his followers, as it has ever been admitted that of Mahomed has

effectually stamped upon his people. This fact indeed has been frequently misapplied by imperfectly qualified critics as a support on which to hang their fiercest denunciations of the prophet and his followers. They have asserted that Mahomed was "bigoted, sensual, ambitious," and wholly devoid of good; and that consequently his followers are not one whit better than the man they love to paint as the fiercest fanatic whose name has been recorded, little less indeed than an inhuman monster, unequalled for depravity and viciousness. More recent writers have brought themselves by the influence of candour and justice to admit that the old estimate of the prophet and his people was erroneous; that the Koran was not a mere incoherent mixture of blasphemy and absurdity, but a religious, social and legal code, eminently suited to the need of the people for whose especial use it was compiled, and adapted to the wants of the nation amidst which it was first promulgated. But even yet it would seem that the prevailing idea of Islam is that it is a narrow, bigoted creed, entirely opposed to social progress in its internal effect—and the bitter, uncompromising foe of every one else, an implacable, hating, bloodsucking code, in its external aspect. All this is founded not on fact, but on facts which have been garbled, mutilated and misrepresented to an extraordinary degree. So much has this been the case that even those facts which it would seem impossible to present in such a manner—for example, the recognition of Christians and Jews as worshippers of and believers in the same God whom the prophet termed Allah—have been seized upon by Christians as a medium for fresh invective. That Mahomed's religion contains elements derived from the two systems just named can scarcely be questioned, but that he adopted so much from them with a view to conciliating their professors, is an absurdity. Judaism, with its ceremonial services and legal prohibitions, comes much nearer Islam, than can Christianity be supposed to do; yet the distinction between the Christian and Mahomedan religions is, in its detail, scarcely less obvious than the distinction between Islam and Judaism, and this remark applies with equal force to the conditions in which these religions existed in the seventh century as well as at the present moment. Whatever may have been Mahomed's motives in teaching the doctrines of Islam, there cannot be a doubt as to the chief and most lasting result of the lessons he imparted to his followers: and what is this result? Is it the formation of an earthly hell in which the only bond of friendship which exists is a fiendish craving for the destruction of all that stands without its limits? Far indeed from this, as I have shown, the Moslem holds God as the fountain of mercy and compassion; he believes these to be the grand distinctions of the Divinity; and he looks upon their imitation by

man, as his noblest ambition, at least so far as this world is concerned. That Mahomed taught this doctrine is not to be denied. In the Koran he dwells on it over and over again. God to the Mahomedan is a Being who delights to welcome the repentant; Whose greatest joy is to forgive, and Whose loving kindness is supreme. Nor is the doctrine of love to man less prominently a feature of Islam, though it is to be regretted that it is perhaps less forcibly advocated in the Koran; but nothing can be more explicit or less open to question than the answer which the prophet gave to the enquirer who asked, "how are the poor to give alms?" mark the reply—"He who leadeth the blind, giveth alms." It is impossible to go beyond this in recognition of the relations which connect man and man together, and place both in their mutual relationship into connection with the Deity. That Mahomed was far from being a man devoid of humanity or those affections which stir the softest emotions of mankind, this one incident does much to prove; if indeed it stood alone, like a bright coin half hidden in a gutter, it would still show that dark and noisome as its resting place might be, it was not incapable of holding some of the pure gold of human sympathy. But this is not the only incident of the kind; even more forcible still as showing the weakness of a man who never quailed at death, are the silent tears which rolled from his eyes for one who had passed away, one whom he had loved with a rich intensity of affection. No tradition of the prophet has left its impress more clearly on the Moslem, than that which bids him love his mother. So far indeed does this principle go, that the unbelieving mother is regarded as still worthy of the utmost devotion which the son can offer. A young Hindoo who had recently become a convert to Islam spoke one day in my presence, to some Mahomedans about his parents, and related how his mother had thrown herself at his feet and offered to sell her last jewel to procure his re-admission into his father's caste. Boy-like the young fellow was not altogether unmoved while relating the incident, but endeavoured to hide his emotion with an attempt at a jest. His companion, a boy but little older or more thoughtful than himself, looked grave, and an old man who sat near read a long and serious lecture to the offender, telling him in effect that although he had become a Mahomedan, he should still love and reverence his mother, and yield her obedience in everything that did not conflict with his religious duty: "assuredly" he concluded "for every grief you cause your mother, God will punish you." Nor of over twenty Mahomedans present, including *Shiahs*, *Sunnis*, Persians, Hindu-stanians and Arabs, was there one whose tongue refrained from endorsing the old man's words, while he himself spoke with emotion. Can the man the traditions of whom uphold such theories as these

be fairly described as "a gloomy fanatic," and a "stern, unyielding moralist devoid of human sympathies"? "Moving in the outer world of every-day life the Mahomedan exhibits a calm and placid exterior; no sentiments and but little emotion ever betray themselves on his well-regulated countenance, and so the Europeans who know nothing more of them than what they thus see, imagine that the unmoved features represent the hidden heart as it really is. Come with me then, and see in thought what I have seen in reality. It is the night the "glorious night" of *shab-i-barat*.* The first watch of the day on which the angels fill in the books of man's destiny and sum up the record of the past twelve months—all is rejoicing and festivity. Near and around the *Kubristans* or burial grounds, booths are erected and filled with all that can attract the eye of the young Moslem or induce the older to spend a rupee, for all Islam keeps holiday to-night. In the mosques pious men sit reading their Korans to attentive gatherings, and there as everywhere the best clothes alone are worn. Long irregular processions are formed as the crowds wind along through the narrow irregular streets, for almost all are hurrying in the same direction—mix with the throng and listen to what you can overhear—do not be ashamed to play the eaves-dropper, there is no danger of your learning State secrets. With some conversation is on general topics, others talk over the past—not a few are recalling those who are gone; and yet some more, *tashch* in† hand, breathe half audible prayers. As we near the graveyard the throng thickens and begins to accelerate its speed—conversation flags, droops and ultimately ceases, jest and laughing gives place to gravity of countenance, for every step recalls the time when the same journey was made with the melancholy intonation of the *Kulma* ‡ bidding its farewell to those who had been near and dear—nor can the Moslem forget that on this day will be recorded the decision whether or not he shall live to see its anniversary, and thus we reach the gate of the burial ground. Lining the path on either side are rows of beggars, principally old women and crippled men. Equally numerous are the vendors of ever-greens which are hastily purchased to lay on the graves of the loved and lost. And now the crowd divides pressing some this way and some that, swaying, pushing, squeezing and struggling through

* *Shah-i-barat*—night of record, the 15th day of the month of *Saban*, beginning at 6 P.M. It is also termed *lailat-al-mubarak*, the blessed night; *lailat arrahmat*, night of mercy; and *lailat-al-fareka*, night of discernment.

† *Tashch*, the Mahomedan rosary containing 100 beads, to assist the recollection in repeating the 100 names of God—or a given number of *Fatiha*

(1st chapter of Koran) or *Kulho* (112th chapter of the Koran, &c.

‡ At funeral processions, the people generally keep repeating the *Kulma* as they pass along. The Seedes or Negro Mahomedans of Bombay shout it out in chorus with considerable vigour, but this method is not approved of.

the return crowds that are making their way out. To the European mind there is much that harmonises but ill with the place. Fire-works rushing through the air in such quick succession that their continual bursting resembles the echoing of a *feu de joie*, laughing and jokes may now and then be heard, but only among the younger and more thoughtless, and a chiding look or reproachful word stops it though but for a while. Watch the crowd as it passes along, ever separating and diminishing as one after another steps aside to pray by a well-known grave. Scarcely one but bears a bunch of evergreens, in one hand, and a rupee or two of small change in the other, dropping pie by pie and pice by pice into the hands the laps or *kushkuls** of the *fukeers* and *miskins*† who line the paths. Now we step aside and see what it is which makes the graveyard the common rendezvous to-night. I have seen many a young and many an old Moslem's lip quiver as he too steps from among the crowd to among the tombs. Here the outward pride of Islam, as of all things earthly, passes away, and the sad, bitter realization of life and death takes its place. Reverently standing by the grave the Moslem prays, first the *Fatiha*, a truly beautiful prayer, and then a self-dictated prayer for mercy to him who lies buried there, and for him who prays. His prayer finished the "stern Moslem who knows no earthly tie" kneels down and with careful and loving hands, re-arranges the simple stones which mark the surface of the grave, and puts the evergreens carefully down, as emblems that the dead are not forgotten. Come now and penetrate into the more lonely portions of this great field of death. Here by a lonely grave, which to the initiated bears unmistakable tokens of the poverty of the deceased, sits a little boy scarce twelve years old, who takes no heed of us as we approach, but continues steadily on, though with a faltering voice and tear-dimmed eyes, to recite his Koran, praying God that he may have mercy on the father who lies below. See that group of Moslems who are now approaching, busily talking among themselves, note how they pause to listen to the boy's perusal, and with what kindly, pitying and affectionate, yet hopeful, words they speak to him, when for a moment he pauses in his recital. Think you is that old man who recalls with a softened voice the time when he too mourned a loving parent passed away, think you, I say, is he "a gloomy fanatic?"—and will it be with contempt, say you, that the recording angel will write down the record of the ill-spared rupee which the boy has just received, while the kindly-hearted

* *Kushkul*, the beggar's gourd, generally one-half of a cocoanut (*narel*) split along its greatest circumference and suspended by two strings.

† A *Fukeer* is one who makes a vow of poverty for religion's sake; and a *miskin* one who is reduced to poverty by circumstances which he cannot control.

donor sought to hide the act as though it were a crime? While wandering alone through the graves of Sonapore * one *shab-i-barat*, I prised for a few moments by a group of trees, thinking myself alone, and stood watching the fire-works that chased one another like fiery spirits through the air, and was thus gazing absorbed in meditation when I heard a deep groan behind me. Turning round I saw an old women, evidently a *miskin*, bent upon the ground that covered a newly-closed grave; and amidst the mingled mutterings of prayers and moans, the words "none, none, I have no one now," were breathed with an earnestness of woe, that the sight of a grave scarcely ever fails to recall to my memory. These are things which I have seen, nor can I regard them as remarkable or extraordinary occurrences, since they tally exactly with the every-day character of the people as they are among themselves.

Let us now turn to the Moslem in his daily life, and see there if we can find any traces of "a gloomy fanatic." Let us see him first in public; and the best place to do that is in the coffee shops, where feeling himself among his fellow-Moslems, he knows no reasons for restricting his freedom of speech. Passing into the coffee shops he gives first a broad and general greeting in the usual form, and having received the customary response, salutes his personal acquaintances one by one. He is a Sunnee or orthodox Mahomedan, so of course you say his friends are so also—you are wrong, however. See that tall Persian there to whom he has given such a warm greeting, and with whom (to judge from their brief but whispered converse) he is on tolerably confidential terms, that man is an acknowledged free-thinker, believes the letter of the *kalma* and nothing else. That other man with whom our friend is now talking so busily is a Shiah, for bitter as is the enmity of the two sects, it is kept for special occasions, and but seldom interferes with their mutual intercourse, unless stirred up by passing events. But now the conversation becomes general, *Sunnee*, *Shiah* and free-thinker all alike join in; and the *lingua franca* of Bombay, a disreputable Urdu, † is chopped and hacked about by Persians, Arabs and half-a-dozen others, and interspersed now and again with Persian proverbs or Arabic anecdotes. A *Shiah* has mono-

* The principal Mahomedan burial ground in Bombay.

† In Bombay the number of Arabs, Persians, and others, who acquire but an imperfect knowledge of the *Urdu* language is considerable; and in the coffee shop they frequent, such phrases as *bees ghora* (twenty horse) instead of *bees ghory* (20 horses) are

common, inflections suffering much from the ungrammatical acquaintance with the language which prevails. It exactly represents the broken Hindustani spoken by the Jeddah *budmashes*. People who speak this style of Hindustani can seldom understand the purer language as spoken in the North.

polized the conversation for some time, when a *Sunnee* cries out to the proprietor—"why don't you turn these fellows out, they let no one else talk, and there is one of their own fellows over the way who has two cups and a *hookah* and keeps a coffee shop;" "What!" replies the *Shiah*, laughing at this attack "would it not be better for you to go and see what a Mogul's coffee shop is like, than sit here to drive honest folk away?" And then jest and joke are mutually exchanged, freely and hotly enough; but I never yet saw anything like anger or bitter feelings occasioned by repartees often touching strongly upon sectarian peculiarities. In the midst of the fun and raillery a miserable decrepid *miskin* appears at the door, and passing from one to another solicits alms. Those who like give, the others reply to the petition with a mild *mauf karo*, (forgive me); one hands his *hookah* to the poor wretch, and another shares his cup of tea with him. Anon comes a *fakcer* dressed out in the glories of his tribe, and reciting pious sayings with lusty lungs. Note his reception, not half so favourable as the poor *miskin* received. One gives a pice, another nothing, but the general reply is *mauf karo* in a somewhat different tone to that which was used to the *miskin*—for dervishism is dying a natural death among Arabs and Hindustanies, and *fakcers* find their influence dropping slowly away. "Why don't you work?" said an Arab to a *fakcer* in Bombay, in my presence; "*hillah*" (for God,)* replied the sturdy mandicant laconically. "Then" said the Arab "you should not beg, but put your trust in God;" and turning to me he added, "it is not right to give *yikat* † to these men," and he related the tradition of the prophet, who when distributing alms one day at Arajat, twice passed over two men who showed considerable bodily vigour and strength, approaching them for the third time, they put in a claim for a share of the *yikat* which he was distributing. "I will give it to you" he replied "if you demand it, but that which I have is for the weak and poor (lit. helpless)."

But while I am thus digressing, our friend is quitting the coffee shop and we must follow him. Very respectable and comfortable looking, in a worldly sense, does he appear, and the acquaintances he salutes seem for the most part equally well to do. Now he bows his head and raises his hands as a well-known *moulvie* or priest passes him; now a brief nod suffices to recognize the humble salute of a *budmash* whose only claim to his notice is that the *budmash* inhabits a *gully* ‡ opening into the street in which our friend lives; now he grasps the arm of a young

* *Li.* To God. The common word to express an action performed for religion's sake.

† *Yikat* will be explained here-

after; here it is sufficient to remark, that it is the alms which all Moslems are directed to give.

‡ Lane.

rascal in tattered garments and chides him roughly but kindly for not attending his school. Now his eye is caught by a new-fangled toy prominently displayed in a wayside shop. "Take it," says the shopkeeper as he hands it over in exchange for a few annas after a sharp bargain has been struck, "Take it, and may God bless you and your children." And now our friend has forgotten altogether the busy calculations of *Dr. & Cr.* with which he has just been employed, and if you salute him, you will find that the little folks at home have engrossed his thoughts. Still he doesn't forget to stop at the corner shop and buy a new *surmadan*, a little miniature jar filled with *surma* (antimony) to adorn the eyes of his *Noor Mahal*; * and now let us leave him, and see while he is busy thinking of those at home what are they doing. Come, here is the house, the door is open, and being Moslems for the time at least, we pass upstairs unchallenged. Stepping into the front room, the boy (aged under fourteen) who does duty as nurse sits on his heels watching the children play. On one side a door half open lets through its portals a savoury smell of curries, *kabobs*,† and other good things, and a clatter of brazen dishes, and the hissing and crackling of a fire, mingling with the busy tongues of the women, tell that dinner is being prepared. Scarcely have we observed all this when a step is heard ascending the stairway, and the children listen a moment and then rush to the door, the boy nurse stands up and rectifies the disorder of his clothes, the door opens and in comes our friend. "Now, who was the good child to-day?" he cries, as he tosses the youngest little one high in his arms, just as our own papas once did with us, and then kisses the plump little fellow affectionately, and the children cry with glee just as if they had been born in London instead of Bombay. After a great deal of kissing and laughing, *paterfamilias* gets settled down at last, and sends a loud "peace be on you" flying away in the direction whence the sounds of the cookery are heard. Presently papa produces the new toy and the children run off to show it to mamma. Meanwhile the *dastarkwan* ‡ is laid, and dinner comes in smoking hot and smelling most invitingly. As there are visitors present, *Noor Mahal* does not appear; but just for a second a veiled head shows at the half-open door and enquires if everything is in proper order. Dinner over, *hookahs*, betelnut, and chit-chat serve to while away the time, until a motherly voice calls the children to bed; once more papa is kissed and kisses again, the little ones disappear, and as we too withdraw after

* "*Light of the house*"—his wife.
Surma is the black powder applied to the eyes as an ornament.

† Roast or fried meat.

‡ *Dastarkwan*, the table or rather floor-cloth on which meals are spread and round which eaters sit.

making our *salaams* we overhear the distant mingling of a male with a female voice and something very like a hearty kiss.

True, every Moslem home does not afford such a picture as this, but in my brief intercourse with Moslems I have seen some such ; and the light that illumined them was the pure ray of affection.

Such is, as faithfully as I can draw it from my experience, the life of the Mahomedan ; and I believe what I have said will serve to show that as a social code, Islam is not the cold heart-chilling system it is so often represented to be. And bearing in mind what a weight is accorded to the traditions of the prophet, it cannot be held that his character has contributed to mar the affections of his followers one to another.

Need I pursue the subject further ? Need I bring forth more incidents to show how great, how deep, is the mistake so commonly made—that the Moslem is necessarily or generally “a gloomy fanatic.” I think not. The Moslem’s heart beats with as warm and true an impulse as does the Christian’s. Like the Christian, he will die for “the faith that is in him ;” but he will not compromise with what he conceives to be sin. His religion teaches him to bow un murmuringly to the decrees of God, but it never blurs or blots away that “little touch of nature which makes all men akin.”

ALFRED H. BROWNE.

ART. IX.—A CENTURY OF POLITICAL LIFE AND POLITICAL LITERATURE IN RUSSIA.

BY C. J. O'DONNELL, M. A., BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

IN speaking of Politics and Political Parties in Russia, we must be on our guard against importing into the subject the conceptions along with the nomenclature of Western public life. According to English or French standards, for instance, a critic would be justified in asserting that there was no such thing as politics in Russia at all. Politics can only exist where there is a political society and in Russia there is only what a Greek writer would describe as a *τυραννίς*. We wish to imply neither praise nor blame in making this initial observation. The comparative advantages of the rule of all, the rule of several, and the rule of one, have had their exponents and champions in all ages ; and the race of the Filmer and the Lockes is not likely to be extinct so long as liberty has charms and authority has solid recommendations. Russia enjoys the benefits, such as they are, of the strictest monarchy of modern times ; and though monocratic government may alone be suited for the rude Muscovite nature, it is none the less difficult to find room for public life and action under such a system. When we speak of politics in France and England or even Spain we are instinctively led to call up the image of popular agitation and popular agitators, a Gambetta, a Gladstone or a Castellar, haranguing constituents and denouncing opponents, a free press exerting its powers in support of the various pretenders to public favour, and, as a natural consequence, a 'ministry of the day' anxiously on the look-out whether it is or is not likely to be the ministry of the morrow also. Trafalgar Square is open to Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his Temperance-crusaders or to Mr. John De Morgan and his Orton-Tichbornites. In Russia there is no place for this sort of thing. If a lot of students forget themselves so far as to hold a public meeting like what they read of in the West, and assemble in front of the Kasan Cathedral to demand, like Home Rule demonstrators in Hyde Park, 'the release of the political prisoners,' they are quickly recalled to actuality out of their dreamland by the charge of a squadron of gendarmes, and by the arrest and incarceration for ten or twenty years of the leaders of their manifestation. The Zemstvo of the district of St. Petersburg was so simple as to take itself for a representative body on the European pattern, and began to mumble some small beginnings of political discussion. A message from the police bade its members mind their roads and highways,

but never presume to indulge in political opinions again. The humiliated body only complained of the fact that such a mandate should have come from the police, just as if they were the keepers of a bad house, or had sheltered Polish conspirators. If they had been muzzled by a direct order of the Tsar, or of one of the higher ministers even, they would have been satisfied. When the cultured and able 'Russian Review,' presumed to hint that Russia had enough to reform at home to occupy her for a good while to come without troubling herself about new-modeling the Ottoman Empire also, a sentence of suspension followed as inevitably as natural facts in the sequence of natural causation. In dealing, then, with contemporary Russian politics we must remember that we are dealing with a political condition and with political movements, which do not depend upon the right of public meeting, or the right of free discussion, or the right of freedom of printing, or the right of representation, or the right of Habeas Corpus, or any other of the rights which Englishmen are accustomed to put in the same category with the law of gravitation and the inspiration of the family Bible.

At the same time, we must be on our guard equally against hastily assuming that there are no politics in Russia because the conditions which accompany all the political life we know of do not exist in the vast empire of the Tsars. There were politics at Rome even under the Cæsars, though the tribunes of the people had lost their veto and had lost themselves, and though the stormy freedom of the Comitia had sunk for ever into the immense stagnation of the Imperial peace. There were politics at Venice in spite of 'The Forty' and nameless accusations in 'The Lion's mouth.' There were politics in France under the Second Empire, even though the writers of the opposition had long to conduct their warfare against Napoleon the Third at the Tuilleries under the cover of caustic disquisitions upon Tiberius Cæsar in his island of Caprera. There were politics under the lower Greek Empire although debased to the rivalry of the Greens and the Blues of the Circus. The student of comparative history must raise his view above local forms and conditions at every moment if he would rightly appreciate the lessons of public events, and in examining the internal state of the Russian Empire we must be prepared to look below the surface of facts for much which elsewhere appears above it, and to take note of tendencies and to strike the balance between thought and expression when elsewhere we should only have to follow the debates of parliamentary assemblies and to register the resolutions of popular demonstrations.

Two stories, of which the one is true and the other may be only illustrative, will serve very fitly to introduce us to the study of our subject. When Dumouriez happened to mention to the Tsar Paul

the First something about one of the 'considerable' personages of his court, 'Understand,' replied the autocrat, 'that there is no person herè who is considerable except the person to whom I may be speaking and he only while I am speaking to him.' This is one story, and here is the other. A Russian peasant being asked if he had ever seen the Tsar, replied 'no, but I know so well what he is like that I almost see him before me.' 'Well, what is he like?' continued the peasant's interlocutor, and with a look of reverence the child of Holy Russia made answer, 'He is an old man of immense size and wearing a long white beard and he sits all day upon a golden throne!' It was exactly the description of God the Father as represented upon the works of Russian ecclesiastical art, and the native faith of the peasant was the natural result of the doctrines of Cæsaro-papism in which he and his fellows had been steeped all their lives. 'L'etat, c'est moi!' would only express half the theory of the Russian Tsardom. To express it fully it would be necessary to say 'L'etat, l'eglise, la noblesse, le pouvoir, la foi, l'honneur, c'est moi'. And down to recent times, and under many Tsars in particular, the theory was as nearly realised as human nature and reason, forced to their last shifts, would permit. When Peter the Great abolished the Patriarchate of Moscow and roared to the murmuring Synod 'Silence! I am your patriarch', and when Nicholas sent his swaggering hussar general, Protassoff, clanking sabre, red jacket and all to command the same Holy Synod as Imperial Procurator for twenty years, the conception of the orthodox Tsar as a sort of human god upon earth, as it appeared to the poor peasant's loyal mind, was not without justification. The orthodox Tsar of all the Russias is in strict theory pretty much what his rival at Constantinople is to good Ottomans, Khalif and Sultan, or as a sound member of the well-disposed classes would say under Diocletian, 'Pontifex Maximus et Summus Imperator.' He has, his fayahs, begs, pushas, and mullahs, in his mujiks, princes, tchinovniks, and bishops; and he is lord of all without as much as 'the Law and the Prophet' to interpose any real check on his will. But for the grim clutch at the throat by an occasional Orloff, when the vice-god had become totally insupportable, the theocracy would have been complete. As it was, it was a theocracy tempered by assassination, which, however, is a little circumstance that does not materially interfere with the correctness of the parallel with Constantinopolitan arrangements. Such was the scene on which Russian politics had to be born and to develop themselves. Even 'Young Turkey' can have no more difficult task before it in trying to constitutionalise the monarchy of the Bajazets and Sulaimans.

• The first weak beginning of public life in Russia cannot be held

to date back earlier than the close of last century or the opening years of the present. During the eighteenth century, indeed, the degradation of the Russian people reached its lowest point. There was something noble and human in the very barbarism of the hundreds of years which preceded, when compared to the dead level of servility in all departments which marked the period of Peter the Great and his successors. The aristocracy was utterly abased; but its abject attitude before the Tsar was perhaps its least degraded feature. Servile imitation of foreign fashions and foreign languages and even foreign vices was stamped upon every mode of thought and action in the refined circles of St. Petersburg. To resemble as much as possible the most contemptible roudés of the Regency in speech, in immorality and in utter inutility, to ape the stiff brutality of Potsdam, these were the ideal aims of the gilded youth and solid middle age of the courtiers and generals of the Peters, Catherines, and Pauls. And the noble ambition was fully achieved, whilst in addition the Russian man of taste and fashion combined with the corruptions of the West, a sordidness, a grossness, and cruelty, which showed how deep was the trace of the Mongol dominion on those rude and ferocious natures. In the case of the lower people the inherited burthens of serfdom became immensely aggravated in order to support the expenses in blood and gold of the new centralised imperialism and militarism. The Russian peasant became the house and farm-slave of his owner, and also the barrack-slave of the State. Russian society soared on one side no higher than the regions of the Parc-aux-Cerfs and on the other plunged down to the squalid depths of the Siberian mines. The new men of position who could have wished under a more congenial system to have shown the nation the way to higher things had no alternative, when once they renounced the vicious culture, the dishonourable honours of the court and the bureaucracy, but to live a semi-vegetable existence upon their estates in the unfathomable depths of the country districts, among ignorant and wretched serfs, and drunken popes, and other land-owners as monotonous and more backward than themselves. The army half starved and half stripped by every description of rascally contractor and more rascally General, perished like flies in extending the cult of the St. Petersburg Cæsaro-papism at the expense of Poland and Turkey. The men of letters, the Lomonossoffs, and Somarokoffs, imitated or translated the masterpieces of Racine, Corneille and Voltaire, wrote stilted odes and panegyrics on distinguished official personages, and though receiving a certain countenance from the Government, were generally despised by the courtly circles for stooping to celebrate in mere Russian the exploits which deserved to obtain the honour of being sung in shambling French

verses of the calibre of the incubrations of Friedrich the Second. Where, besides, was the need of dabbling in such vulgarity, when the court possessed a German theatrical company, an Italian opera troupe, and, above all, a corps de ballet?

Such was the condition of Russia only three-quarters of a century ago. Yet the thin seeds of European culture were taking root here and there in the waste; and the faint echoes of classic liberty sounded across the barriers of the Despotism even through the medium of such poor stuff as Trediakovsky's translation of Rollin's Roman History. A Von Vizin infused some of the dissolving philosophy of the eighteenth century into his satiric comedies of the '*Brigadier*' and the '*Minor*.' Free-masonry, imported into Russia by Novikoff and the Professor Schwartz, spread amid the mystery of its lodges principles of fraternity and tendencies towards equality, which found enthusiasts and adepts in the bosom of a society sick of itself and craving for change. The tremendous storm of the French revolution agitated even the torpid abysses of 'the last of the Khanates.' It was quickly seen that the levelling theories of the Encyclopædists had found a ready welcome in many noble breasts, and even the excesses of the Jacobins could not entirely destroy the attractions of the rights of man. Though the Masonic Societies fell under the ban of the Government, though Novikoff's Society of Friends was suppressed, and the innovator himself sent to meditate on the advantages of paternal administration in a cell of the fortress of Schlussemburg, the impetus was given which has never since entirely ceased to vibrate through the pulses of Russian society. Karamzin, though his history was an official panegyric, called the attention of an increasing public to the national past and suggested a national future. Visions bounded by no bureaucratic limits opened up before the imagination of a rising generation. The thrilling appeal to Russian patriotism against the terrible invasion of Napoleon reminded Tsar and people alike that there was more in the empire than 'Tchins' and gradations of official rank, and that an autocracy which had need of the popular favour was an autocracy doomed sooner or later to follow in some sort or other public opinion. Perhaps the first Russian poems which really commanded the admiration of the higher circles of Russian society were the fables of Kryloff, full of allusions to the heroes of the anti-Napoleonic war of liberation, and the Russian camp songs of the gifted Shukovski. As the Muscovite hosts pursued the retreat of the Colossus of the Revolution home to his very capital, the rude conquerors saw at every step something to astonish, to attract, or at any rate to interest and instruct. Travelling expands the mind, and the rough riders and stiffly-laced and bedizened guardsmen who followed Kutusoff and

Schwartzenburg across Germany and France were on their travels with a vengeance. The voluptuous semi-savages of St. Petersburg brought back from Paris more than French mistresses and a taste for Veuve Clicquot's 'unutterably wonderful and delightful' vin de Champagne. In 1802 a Ministry of Public Instruction had been established. In 1816, after the Napoleonic wars were finally over, a Paedagogic Institute was founded for the education of the future teachers and professors of the country, and to ensure a wider culture than was available at home, the youthful *savans* were sent to the principal seats of learning in the West in order to prepare themselves better by the study of the institutions of a more advanced civilisation for the duties which awaited them. How bitterly did the Tsar Nicholas, in the period of reaction afterwards, curse the autocratic infatuation which had dreamed of reconciling public servitude with public instruction !

Even before the close of the reign of the gentle Alexander the reaction had begun. The hateful Araktshejeff, the iron Kutusoff, Shishkoff the able foe of all liberalism, these were the men who succeeded in influencing the emperor's mind in that direction, half tyrannical, half fanatical, but wholly horrible, which was to be the chosen course of Alexander's successor. The Masonic Societies were suppressed in 1822, as affording dangerous opportunities for the exchange of opinion and the cultivation of unorthodox liberty. Attempts to introduce some beginnings of intelligent reform into the formal subservience of the State Church were sternly put down, and the Bible Societies shared the fate of the masonic brotherhoods. The young men who were driven from the congenial retreat of the legitimate associations took refuge in illegal conspiracy. The liberal section even of the brilliant literary club of the 'Arzamas' saw no hope for the country save in a political revolution. We know how they tried to carry out their designs in the bloody December of the year 1825, on the accession of the dreaded Nicholas, and how the hopes of the young Russia of the day disappeared amid the rattle of small arms and the thunder of cannon as the autocrat uttered the cynical order : 'il faut mitrailler cette canaille.' The 'canaille' on that awful day included the fine flower of Russian society ; but what could even intellect and patriotism do in a situation in which they could only get the consent of a few stupid regiments for the cry of Constantine and the Constitution, by assuring the soldiery that 'Constitution' was the wife of Constantine ? The Paedagogic Institute of Alexander's better days might have done its work in the higher circles, but fortunately for the autocracy the masses were still as brutally ignorant as they ever were in 'Holy Russia,' and as they are, with few exceptions, at the present day. The orthodox Tsar

of all the Russias is pretty safe from domestic revolution so long as he has his blue-coated secret police on one side of him, and the venerable beards of his subservient popes all wagging damnation at every gainsayer of his temporal and spiritual omnipotence on the other. That is to say the orthodox Tsar is safe so long as his orthodox people follow his orthodox popes, and more or less believe that the first person of the Blessed Trinity is to be seen at the palace at St. Petersburg in the likeness of an old man of immense size, wearing a long white beard, seated on a golden throne all day long, and shining with incommunicable light.

The terrible era of the perfected autocracy, from the annihilation of the Dekabrists, the Decembrists, of the year 1825, down to the death of the iron Tsar at the collapse of his military ambition under the walls of Sebastopol, is bridged over, as far as politics are concerned, by the genius of a small band of writers who in any country would have won distinction, but who blaze like intellectual suns, in the restricted firmament of 'All the Russias.' Indeed, in any country they would have inevitably exercised political as well as literary influence, but in Russia their political influence was simply enormous. It was all the more overwhelming and all-pervading, because every appearance of political intention had to be so studiously avoided. What, indeed, could be more terribly provocative of that malcontent spirit, which is the very reverse of the menial admiration demanded by Tsarism, than the scathing exposure of the rottenness, the venality, the degradation, the misery and the hopelessness of Russian life in the higher circles as well as among the masses of the population, which found expression in the works of Gribojedoff, Pushkin, and Lermontoff in the earlier part of the present century, and of Turgenieff and the writers of the 'Denunciation School' in later years and at the present moment? The famous comedy of '*The Misfortune of having Brains*,' as we may translate the '*Gore of Uma*' of Gribojedoff, was enough to shatter at a stroke all the servile illusions fostered by the bureaucratic and militarist despotism. In spite of press censorship and police prohibition the fearful satire sped its way in thousands of secret copies through every grade of Russian society. Gribojedoff was no more when his work was allowed at length to see some of the light on the boards of a Russian theatre, but the types which he had lashed with the scourge of his wrathful and incisive muse, had stamped themselves ineffaceably on the national recollection, and were only recollected with disgust tempered with the delight that such types, all so easily recognisable, had in truth been openly knouted with such an unsparing arm. The hero of the play, Tshaski, was a young Russian, who had learned to appreciate culture and independence of mind

in the free and intellectual society of foreign lands. He returns to his native country full of hopes of honourable ambition, full of proud expectations of a noble and useful career among great and good men and true and noble women. What is his experience? Among corrupt creatures of both sexes, who constitute to his horror the society of his native land, he is set down as a madman and a fool because he believes that truth is more than an empty name, that court favor can be purchased too dearly by moral degradation, that human nature has aims and duties beyond successful filching from the treasury and successful lackeyism to the Tsar. The old Senator, Famusoff, who had made his way so brilliantly to the highest ranks of the bureaucracy, and who could not understand what honour and conscience had to do with the service of the State, was a character which was alone sufficient to ensure the triumph of the piece. Everybody asked who had been the original, and nearly everybody named a different original. Skalosub, the army officer, who divided all mankind into two classes, those who had been in his regiment and those who had not; the professional gamester whom all the world knew to be a blackleg but was admitted into the best circles notwithstanding; the princess who felt her family to be disgraced because her nephew showed a turn for science; the fluent politician, who like Socrates in the Clouds of Aristophanes, was always proving opposite conclusions by turns, and all whose politics were froth and smoke;—who could behold such figures, who could recognise them as only too bitingly accurate, without also feeling that the entire system which produced such results had passed its trial and had been judged? It little availed that Tsar Nicholas had the comedy carefully emasculated of its sharpest shafts before authorizing its official representation. It had been unofficially published in every quarter of the empire long before, and the spectators easily supplied the lacunæ left by the imperial censorship.

Pushkin, again, whence did his genius draw its aspirations after the wild life of gipsy and bandit but from soul-sickness at the straight-jacket system of the Tsardom? Whence the bitter mockery of his description of life in 'the best classes,' but from a keen sense of the utter frivolity of every career permitted by the authorities? His Eugene Onieguin passed through all the phases of a Russian existence of the best class and found every phase dust and ashes. What was this sort of poetry, but politics, and politics of the most pernicious kind? The lesson of Lermontoff's romance '*A Hero of the Day*' was nothing better. Nay, to crown all, what a moral attack on the whole theory and practice of the autocracy was contained in the well-known teaching of the famous literary critic Bielinski, when he laid down, as he habitually laid

down, that the progress of a nation in culture and taste, in all that dignifies and ennobles life, is inextricably dependent on the possession of political institutions, which encourage, instead of repress, the free developement of all the faculties of intelligence and will? It was hard for the censorship to snip off with sharpest scissors the one or two objectionable bits of treatises like these. Such high æsthetic judgments seemed indeed to be elevated thousands of fathoms above the special institutions dear to the despotic soul in any particular land. Yet who could doubt that it all meant a solemn command to every true man to leave no effort unused, as he valued the welfare and enlightenment of his country and his race, to procure for Russia a release from the secret police, from the ukases of an irresponsible autocrat, from the freezing mines of Siberia, which had been, and continued to be, the living tombs of Russian independence and impatience of a galling and degrading curb? The Tsars forbade politics in their wide dominions, and behold! politics sneered at them from the stage, denounced them in poem and novel, and condemned them in the name of all the canons of good taste in the blameless pages of literary criticism. Surely there must be a very devil in refinement and literature which sooner or later, and generally sooner rather than later, drives full tilt against the regulations of a paternal government and the stupidity of bureaucratic pedants.

The Crimean war broke the heart of the iron Nicholas, and the death of Nicholas opened the doors to all the hopes and aspirations which had been trodden under the autocrat's heel for nearly thirty years. Few periods of history are more attractive than that brief outburst of liberalism which followed the accession of the present Tsar. The ground had been well prepared. The scathing comedy of Gogol, '*The Inspector*,' his still more telling tale, '*The Dead Souls*,' the sketches and novels of Turganieff, had co-operated with Herzen's universally circulated, though universally prohibited, journal, the '*Kolokol*' or '*Bell*' in sapping the last vestiges of reverence in men's minds for the system, which produced such effects as their descriptions laid bare. A travelling salesman for a commercial house is mistaken for the expected 'Revisor' or government inspector in a provincial capital. All the functionaries, in their blind error and panic, pour into the bagman's ear the tale of their rascalities and strive to propitiate the wrath of the higher powers in the usual manner by greasing the palm of the supposed revisor. A knavish speculator taking advantage of the law, which allowed proprietors to mortgage their serfs to a bank up to the sum of 300 roubles each, in order to conduct an intricate and ingenious swindle, forms the subject of Gogol's second comedy. On every estate the official census took place at considerable intervals, and though the number of serfs

might change considerably in the interval, the 'dead souls' were still borne on the steward's books and the master had to pay tax for the dead serfs just as for the live ones. The speculator went about buying the 'dead souls' from the various proprietors and then pretended to settle his purchases on a distant piece of land; whereupon he turned to the banks and raised his mortgages on the human chattels, which he thus seemed to possess. In the course of his traffic the swindler comes into contact with all sorts of high officials and nobles, and the resulting tableau, sketched by the hand of the master play-wright, created an impression, which even Nicholas could not help feeling, bitterly as he disliked the man who scourged the hidden rottenness of his imposing military empire. Herzen, the illegitimate son of a German girl and a Russian gentleman, published his '*Kolokol*' in London, but was supplied with information by secret correspondents in every bureau in the monarchy. The '*Kolokol*' poured across the frontier-barriers in thousands, and nothing could stop the forbidden but all conquering journal. Never was ground better prepared for the sowing of reforms, and hundreds of pens were devoted, as if by magic, to demand the introduction of the most sweeping changes as soon as the accession of Alexander the Second gave the signal for the advent of the expected time, 'the coming day of freedom.'

In the first energy and enthusiasm of that strange uprising, it was hard to say which were the liberals and which the reactionists, for every body was or appeared liberal, and only the discredited generals and 'high officials,' who were hopelessly involved in the break-down of the Nicholaite system, could be still called reactionaries; and they, poor old fossils, would have gladly dubbed themselves radical progressists at least, if the public laughter would only have permitted them. Katkoff and Vuluiëff, Leontjeff and Golovnine, the Miliutins and the Tshernitsheffskis, Tolstoi and Nehrassoff, all the men, who were afterwards to distinguish themselves most often from each other by such wide and deep lines, were then confused in one common effort for what the world in general designated by no definite name, but which we may as well call the social and progressive revolution as anything else. It is needless now to go over the history of the events which resulted in the emancipation of the serfs. All the novelists had pointed to the slavery of the masses of the Russian people as the fundamental source of every failing and every drawback. The serfs were emancipated from their masters. At least the general provisions were established according to which forty out of the fifty or fifty-five millions of serfs in Russia have become emancipated during the last fifteen years, but the serf was not emancipated from his subjection to his commune, to his '*Mir*,' his village

and his veritable world. What precise course the emancipation of the serfs would have followed, if nothing had occurred to narrow the judgment of the directing classes and to fill them with blind hate of all that was not Russian of the Russians, it would be unprofitable to speculate. We can here only touch upon some of the characteristics which have developed themselves under actual circumstances.

The turning point in Russian internal progress was undoubtedly the Polish insurrection. The Poles rose in arms to claim for their country some of those national rights which were at least as much the due of Poles as of any other Slavonic stock. At first it seemed as if the result of their bold protest would be the grant of a large part of their demands. The leaders of the advanced liberals at St. Petersburg hardly concealed their delight at the outbreak of a movement, which by introducing freedom into Poland could hardly fail to communicate much of its influence to the progress of Russian affairs. The majority of the governing classes were partly unnerved by the greatness of the danger which threatened the autocratic institution and were partly ashamed to act in open opposition to all the fine theories which had passed current in the best circles for so many years. But there was one man who felt neither fear nor shame, and this was Katkoff of the 'Moscow Gazette.' Boldly declaring that the greatness of Russia was the supreme law, which it was treason and impiety to ignore, he demanded the ruin of Poland as an awful lesson to all enemies of the Muscovite power, as a protest against Europe and Europe's interference, as a means of carrying out the hostilities which the Orthodox Church had vowed against the Catholicism of Rome. It had seemed in the bright years of the Alexandrine era that national exclusiveness and religious bigotry were both doomed before long to disappear from the soil of regenerated Russia. Katkoff boldly invoked the one and the other. 'The Supremacy of the Russian nationality and the destruction of the enemies of the Russian Church,' was his war-cry; and the vigour with which he preached his exterminating creed was all the greater because it was impossible for him to believe in the goodness of what he preached. He had made his election, however. He had resolved that Russia should come out of the contest undiminished and he proclaimed that had the price of her delivery been his own soul a thousand times over, he would not have shrunk from the sacrifice, whilst he called on all true Russians to show similar devotion. There was no resisting that demoniac patriotism. Poland was annihilated, Europe was defied. Russia rose unbroken from the wreck which threatened to overwhelm her. But terrible was the price which Russia paid for the victory. The whips of Mouravieff had cut into more than the white backs of Polish women. The

taste, the sensibility, the thirst for enlightenment and progress had fled, perhaps never to return. The bigot Tolstoi, the gloomy Jacobin Miliutin, the brutal Mouravieff, the gifted Katkoff were all linked together indissolubly from that hour. The spirit of blind fanaticism which had placed the Russian ecclesiastical system at the disposal of the Tsar for the necessary exciting of the national enthusiasm remained triumphant after Poland had ceased to struggle. The Protestants of the Baltic Provinces felt not a little of what had been endured by the Catholics of Warsaw. The whole future of Russian life took once more the colours which it wore under Arakhsheff and Shishkoff. Men who were not naturally chauvinists or bigots placed their brains at the service of national and religious intolerance. The idea of introducing a constitution into Russia was laughed to scorn by the triumphant reaction. It was more loudly proclaimed than ever that the Tsardom was of divine origin and more than human fitness, that an enlightened despotism was necessary to Russia, and that the main badge and token of enlightenment consisted in nationalism of the most thorough type. The men who did not share these ideas, fell into the ranks of the Nihilists, or were irretrievably involved in the disgrace, with which the frenetic genius of Katkoff had crushed the favourers of justice to Poland.

One thing survived the general reaction against the favourite theories of the early years of Alexander the Second. This was the 'Mir'. The Russian village community was in equal favour with the most advanced of the social reformers and with the most circumspect of the conservatives, who contrived to act as a drag on the overhasty progress of the country. It was enough for the retrograde party that the 'Mir' had come down from antiquity. That was a sufficient title to their affections. The predilection of the advanced liberals, the semi-socialists and the out-and-out-socialists was based on different grounds. Looking abroad over Western Europe, they fancied they recognised in the contests between labour and capital, which perplexed and perplex the western nations, the clear consequences of the law of individuality and the license of competition, which exist in those nations. In Russia on the other hand, they saw that not isolated and experimental communities, but the mass of the Russian people have lived according to socialist principles from the dawn of history and before it, and they proclaimed that in Russia, by an astonishing destiny, the 'new formula of civilisation' was also the oldest of all. The illusion in this matter was not, however, to be eternal. A commission to enquire in to the state of the emancipated serfs has declared that the 'Mir' is the permanent obstacle to progress, agricultural and moral.

What remains to the Russian politicians? Afraid to alter the

fundamental conditions of their national society, afraid to let things drift, as they seem to drift, in the direction of socialist republicanism and revolution, they have grasped at the thought of military empire as the one saving hope of their 'Holy Russia.' When Russia, great and triumphant, extends her sway over the hundred millions of the Slav world, and dictates to three continents, it may be safe to attempt a reconstruction of society under the aegis of the omnipotent Tsardom, surrounded with all the prestige and glory of imperishable victory. For twenty years at the beginning of the century Russia leant to liberalism and progress. From the accession of Nicholas, the balance inclined decidedly we may say in the other direction. At the end of another period of semi-liberalism, always allied, however, with the stiff, bureaucratic influences of the Cæsaro-papism, the danger of internal reform is once more the predominating thought, and the hope of staving off home troubles which led the third Napoleon to countenance the cry '*à Berlin*' has led the emancipating Tsar to lead off in the shout 'to Constantinople'.

POETRY :—THE COMPLAINT OF THE AFFLICTED CHURCH.

“THIS piece,” says M. Gustave Masson, “is one of the numerous pieces suggested by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It was found a few years ago on the fly-leaf of an old family Bible and published in the “*Bulletin de la Société du Protestantisme Français*, 1853.” The reader will find it in “*La Lyre Française*” (p.p. 8-12) ; and I have great pleasure in referring him to that volume, as no translation can do adequate justice to the pathos and power of the original poem.

Our hearts, O Lord, to Thee look up,
Our cries and groans implore Thine aid,
Behold what clouds our welkin overshadow,
And mark how bitter is our cup.
Take cognizance of all our ills,
And draw us from the frightful precipice,
Before we sink down in the abyss,
And death our clamorous voices stills.

Our poor tribes fugitive afar,
Thine altars everywhere o'erthrown,
Thy torches quenched, Thy flocks dispersed, to moan
In deserts, and without a star ;
Here, consciences no longer free,
There, cherished feelings wronged, and hearts in fears,
And eyes for ever bathed in tears,
All, all, call dolefully on Thee.

Our girls in some sad convent pent,
Our workmen stretched on dungeon-floor,
Our best as martyrs deluged in their gore,
Our preachers to the galleys sent,
Our sick, neglected left to die,
Our dying who the sacraments have not,
Our dead on shambles cast to rot,
Appeal to Thee, look down from high.

'Tis a privilege of Thy Grace
To bend the stubborn human heart,
But sacrilegious man usurps Thy part
And wrongs Thee, Lord, before Thy face.
Not by persuasions mild
But tortures, is the conscience forced,—in ways
Unknown in earlier Christian days,
And so Thy Spirit is reviled.

What cries and lamentations hoarse
 May show our children's sad estate !
 Victims of parents' sins,—unfortunate,
 Plucked from their mothers' breasts by force
 And doomed,—oh woeful destiny !
 To bloody Moloch by inhuman hands,
 And to sin's pains and fatal brands,
 Before they know iniquity.

Ah ! Born in such conditions dire,
 To live in fears from day to day,
 Marked by Remorse's furies as a prey,
 The heralds of eternal ire ;
 And then to die beneath the curse,
 And Christ in the heart to the last resist,
 Yea, live and die as atheist,
 O God, can any fate be worse ?

The tyrants weigh us down with chains,
 One woe succeeds another woe,
 They close up heaven, they open hell below,
 Nor care for God, nor heed our pains.
 Who can withstand these men of blood ?
 They gnash on us like ghouls in saint's gore red,
 They hurl us in the furnace dread,—
 Ah ! that the Angel by us stood !

We had a longing, lingering hope
 That spite the torments that we feel
 A peace would come our mortal wounds to heal,
 But now expectance has no scope.
 Our sins have not permitted peace,
 Thy wrath against our crimes, Thy fearful wrath
 New lions sends across our path
 And our misfortunes never cease.

When all looks dark, behind, before,
 Had we at least, O Lord, Thy Grace,
 We might, assured, have boldly run our race,
 But no, we see Thy Grace no more.
 Ills upon ill's press down severe
 Upon us, and 'Thou deignest not to see ;
 The bricks are doul'd by decree,
 But Moses does not yet appear.

Where are Thy favours of the past ?
 Are they, alas ! for ever gone ?
 We loved them, when Thy light upon us shone
 And love them yet, in darkness cast.

We see Thee, Lord, in vengeance raise
Thine arm, but still to Thee for shelter fly,
If in Thy justice we must die,
Our last thought shall that justice praise.

If to consume us be Thy will,
We shall retire within Thy breast;
Send chains and gibbets, famine, war and pest,
We shall adore and love Thee still.
In fears and ills of every sort
We shall obey Thee, long as reason lasts,
Well knowing that Thy roughest blasts
Lead us but quicker to the port.

May this our firm resolve and faith
Weak brethen help that wisdom lack,
The fallen raise, the wandering bring back,
The timid free from fear of death.
Draw down on us Thy favour, Lord,
And save us also, from foes manifold,
And in our sorrows make us bold,
Through Jesus Christ the Incarnate Word.

Amen.

TORU DUTT.

April, 1877.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

I.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Valika Vodhaka. Part I. By Srimati Pratul Kumari Dasi.
Calcutta, 1282 B. S. Printed by Jogendra Nath Chaturji.
Economic Press, 35½, Bentinck Street.

WE have some doubts as to the authorship of this little book. The writer seems to possess some knowledge of Sanskrit, a sort of proficiency which we have not yet met with in Hindu girls. And there is other internal evidence to confirm our doubt. But supposing Srimati Pratul Kumari to be the real author of the book before us, we must say that her culture is not of a high order, and her acquaintance with the Bengali language and literature far from accurate or profound. But her book possesses one feature which induces us to overlook much that is faulty and something that is positively reprehensible. One reason why female education is not very favorably looked upon in this country is that many of its recipients imbibe and act up to certain false and mischievous notions regarding the duties and functions of their sex. These educated girls think that there should be no distinction between man and woman, whether within the limited circle of the family or in the wider circle of society. And what they believe in theory they often endeavour to realise in practice—a course of conduct, which produces much domestic friction and great moral and economic disorganisation. The causes which lead to this result are many in number; but it is only necessary for us to state here that the sort of education which is given to Bengali girls is one among them. They are taught history, geography and mathematics, which tell them nothing about what women should be within the domestic sphere or in general society. And when instruction is given to them on this most important point, the teaching consists of a sort of exposition of the doctrine of sexual equality, which is admirably calculated to create the belief that the two sexes are identical in nature and ought to have identical aims in life. It is extremely encouraging to us to find Srimati Pratul Kumari teaching her countrywomen a very sound theory of the relations between the sexes—asking them to confine themselves chiefly within the domestic sphere and so to conduct themselves within that sphere as will prevent dis-

organisation of the family system. We do not agree with Pratul Kumari in all that she says, and some of her views certainly look very old-fashioned. But in the present state of Bengali Society, where the force of the dissolving seems to be greater than the force of the conserving influences, old-fashioned views of social and domestic life are useful in their own way, and ought not to be hastily discarded. If thoroughly revised, *Valika Vodhaka* might form an excellent text-book in Indian girls' schools.

Seh Ki Amár? A Drama. By Rádhá Mádhava Basu, Calcutta : Printed and Published by Bipin Vihari Rai at the Victoria Press, No. 21, Bhaváni Charan Datta's Lane, 1283 B. S.

JUDGED by the rules of dramatic composition, this work is certainly very defective. A dramatic story ought to have three parts—a beginning, a middle and an end; and these three parts ought to have some connection with each other. This is true of all superior dramas. Not to travel beyond India, we have in Kalidás' *Sakuntala*, first, Dushmanta's marriage with Sakuntala in the hermitage, which forms the beginning of the story. We have, next, Sakuntala's journey to the palace of Dushmanta, in the course of which the fatal ring is dropped in the river and lost. This journey and this loss of the ring constitute the 'middle' of the story. We need not describe the 'end.' But as between this 'beginning' and this 'middle,' the connection is natural, obvious and necessary. The husband having gone away leaving his wife in the hermitage, the wife must perform a journey to join her husband; and the loss of a ring in a river which has to be crossed in the course of this journey is an event which falls among the casualties of every-day life. But between the 'beginning' and the 'middle' of Babu Radha Madhava's story there is no natural or necessary connection. His 'beginning' is the growth of a strong and delicate attachment between a girl named *Vasanta* and a young man *Shishir*. His 'middle' is the growth of a lustful desire for the same girl in a dissipated youth named Shashishekhara, who endeavours to accomplish his own wicked purpose by poisoning *Shishir*'s mind against *Vasanta*. It is clear that this 'middle' does not arise out of this 'beginning.' It is clear that the introduction of the dissipated youth into the story is not the result of any necessity connected with the incipient loves of *Shishir* and *Vasanta*. It should not be thought that this defect in the structure of the plot is but technical and therefore unimportant. One main object of dramatic poetry is to excite in the reader's mind sympathy with all that is fair, virtuous and right, and abhorrence for all that is ugly, sinful and wrong. Now, *Shashishe*.

khara, as he has been painted, does excite our abhorrence. But that abhorrence would have been infinitely greater and *Shashishekhara* would have looked a great deal blacker, if he had been represented to us as playing the devil, not as a self-introduced character, but in the capacity of a trusted agent or confidential adviser. And the strong feeling of disapprobation with which the majority of the villagers regard the idea of a marriage between *Vasanta* and *Shishir* seems to us to afford an excellent opportunity for the employment of such an agent or the introduction of such an adviser. It is thus clear that the doctrine of the 'beginning, middle, and end' is of true dramatic importance, and ought to be carefully studied by all Bengali writers of dramas.

There are many other defects in Babu Rádhá Mádhava's drama. His description of the first loves of *Shishir* and *Vasanta* is not very skilful, and could have been rendered far more effective by a deeper study of such masterpieces as Kalidas's *Sakuntala* and Shakspeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. There is also some defect in the structure of *Shashishekhara's* story, which could have been avoided by a careful study of *Othello*. If Babu Rádhá Mádhava had been well versed in the philosophy of *Othello*, he would have shown us the wicked *Shashishekhara* in the very act of intercepting the letter which enables him to strike down two loving, innocent and enthusiastic hearts, instead of making a third person tell us how that letter was intercepted.

But Babu Rádhá Mádhava is "only in the beginning of his journey." *Sek ki Amar*? is his first work. And that work is full of promise. His power of delineating characters which we come across every day of our life is really very remarkable. We think his *Vishahari Thákuráni*, *Harehkrishna Bhattáchárya*, *Rám Ballabha*, *Shashishekhara* and *Fatima Chand* are very good photographs from real life; and that villain of a servant who carries letters between *Vasanta* and *Shishir* need not lower his crest before any living specimen of humanity brought from Dhaka, Maimansingha, or Srihatta—or even from Chattogram, if nothing less than that classic land will satisfy the worshipful reader.

Ramani is an exquisitely conceived character. *Kamala* and *Sukeshini* are two female characters representing two interesting stages of domestic civilisation in Bengal. The former is thoroughly old-fashioned; the latter is a compromise, neither very old-fashioned nor very fast-going.

There is considerable pathos towards the conclusion of the drama, and its earlier scenes will give the reader an accurate idea of village life in Bengal in some of its most momentous aspects.

Babu Rádhá Mádhava is not a very prolix writer, and thus contrasts favorably with many other Bengali writers of dramas.

Kavi-Rahini. By Dinesh Charan Basu. Printed by Jadu Náth Rai at the Bharat Mihir Press, Maimansingha : 1876.

THIS is a collection of lyrical poems, some of which are good. The author's principal fault is diffuseness and ignorance of artistic beauty. He is often very extravagant in expression.

The get-up of the book is extremely good, and reflects great credit upon a rural and out-lying district like Maimansingha.

Kavitámólá. By Raj Krishna Mukhopadhaya M. A., B. L. Calcutta ; Printed by Bihari Lall Banerji at J. G. Chatterjea & Co.'s Press, 44, Amherst Street. Published by the Sanskrit Press Depository, No. 30, Bechoo Chatterji's Street. 1877.

SOME of the poetical pieces in this book have been reprinted from the *Education Gazette* and *Banga Darsana* and some from books previously published by the author. Babu Raj Krishna has done well in bringing out this reprint. His poetry is not without some serious faults. It lacks eloquence, ease and gracefulness, and above all, that charming flow and lightning brilliance which proceed from inspiration alone. His versification, again, is not very smooth or musical. But in spite of all these defects Babu Raj Krishna's poetry is extremely valuable for its admirable sobriety and thoughtfulness. His style is free from conceit and extravagance, and his sentiments are expressed with all the cautious fervour of a really thoughtful man. In the idealisation of metaphysical thought, Babu Raj Krishna Mukharji seems to stand alone among Bengali poets. The three pieces—*Kal*, *Mahishamardini* and *Vishnu*—are remarkable examples of our poet's power of throwing into a poetical form some of the subtlest and widest generalisations of ancient Hindu thought. This is one noticeable point in Babu Raj Krishna's poetry. There is another point still more important than this. It is now very generally admitted that science has a poetical as well as an intellectual side, and that poetry of science, as being the poetry of demonstrable truth, is poetry of a very superior type. It is, therefore, extremely gratifying to us to find Babu Raj Krishna Mukharji attempting to idealise scientific conceptions. The two pieces entitled 'Surya' and 'Srishti' (the Sun and Creation) are attempts in this direction, and deserve very high praise on account of their being the only attempts yet made in Bengali poetry to bring natural laws and principles within the enchanted domain of the Muses. A third point in the poetry of our author relates to his imitations from English poets. Babu Raj Krishna's imitations, unlike those of other Bengali poets, are not so much imitations as adaptations. He takes ideas from English poets, but illustrates

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

N^o CXXX.

ART. I.—WARREN HASTINGS IN LOWER-BENGAL.

A GOOD biography of Warren Hastings has yet to be written. Gleig's book is tasteless and verbose, and full of unblushing panegyric; while Macaulay's Essay is not a complete life and is too brilliant to be perfectly just. Originally written as an anonymous article in a review, it has not escaped the defects of such a mode of composition, and is described by the essayist himself in one of his opening sentences as being a "necessarily hasty and imperfect" performance.

The fame of the founders of British India has indeed been but indifferently cared for. There are two lives of Clive, but the first, which professes to be written by Charles Caraccioli, gentleman, is the production of a rancorous enemy, who apparently has not scrupled to enlist the services of cast-off pimps and parasites, and the second is tedious and uninforming. The manner in which Lord Clive's death is described is characteristic of the two books. Caraccioli gloats over the details, and Sir John Malcolm's continuator is so refined and mysterious that one would hardly know from his book that Clive committed suicide! There is no life of Major Lawrence, or of Admiral Watson, who was perhaps the only man among our Indian leaders who was at once capable and upright; nor is there a life of Sir Eyre Coote. The only Indian Statesman of the last century whose life has been properly written, is Sir Philip Francis, and he owes this distinction, not to his career in Bengal, but to his having been the author of Junius, and consequently the Indian portion of his life has been somewhat meagrely treated of. Considering what the lives and actions of most of our so-called Indian heroes really were, and the circumstances under which our Indian empire was formed, it is no doubt better for individual reputations, and even for the fame of our country, that the waves of obscurity and forgetfulness should continue to engulf much of our Eastern annals. But history does not consist in the dressing up of the reputation of men or nations, and it requires that the whole truth should be told. The history of our Indian empire is pre-eminently that of the

actions of ordinary men in extraordinary circumstances. Of course it must often show that the men have been unequal for the occasion, but there is no more valuable though simpler lesson taught by history than that of the frightful evils which may result from men or nations being set to tasks too hard for them. And no one who knows himself, or human nature, will be disposed to scorn or unduly upbraid his Anglo-Indian forefathers for their crimes or errors, or to think them worse than their fellows.

There is no lack of materials for a life of Hastings. Gleig's book, bad as it is, contains many valuable letters; and there are numerous bulky volumes of manuscript in the India Office. Perhaps, however, the most valuable collection of papers is that in the British Museum, and which was acquired in 1872, by purchase from a Mrs. Kinter. It consists of 268 volumes and extends from 1757 down to 1818.

Much of it consists of copies of the proceedings of the Council of Fort William, and is thus of exhausted interest, or is only a repetition of what may be found elsewhere. But there are also many private letters and some interesting essays on Indian subjects. There is a small quarto containing the originals of letters from Warren Hastings to his wife, and which, as being especially valuable, is preserved among the selected manuscripts. On a fly leaf is written "Letters from my excellent husband when I was at Hugly and Chinsurah." Among these is a letter describing the duel with Francis, and a subsequent one in which Hastings writes "I have now the pleasure to tell you that Mr. Francis is in no manner of danger, the ball having passed through the muscular part of his back just below the shoulder without penetrating or injuring any of the bones." The volume, however, is chiefly composed of letters written at a later period. One or two are copies of letters which are stated to have been sent by Hastings, in quills, when he was in Chunar. "Oh that I could see my sweet Marian for one hour" is the impassioned phrase of one of these letters. The longest letters are those written to Mrs. Hastings when she was on her way home to England. They breathe the most ardent affection, and I cannot find in them the ceremoniousness or solemn courtesy which Macaulay describes his letters as displaying. They, however, are not interesting except as indications of feeling, and incline one to suppose that Mrs. Hastings was not intellectual, or at least did not participate in the public cares of her husband.

In one he writes "do not be lazy, the morning air, I mean the breeze which the rising sun sets in motion, will do you more good than all the rest of the day. And remember the Persian proverb: which says, that the air of paradise passes between a horse's ears to the rider that does not take too much of it, nor

expose herself to the heat of the sun." In another he tells her that he will never consent to her going again to Beercool, as there are very large alligators in that neighbourhood. I shall return to these letters further on; and now proceed to notice a correspondence which is of much more general interest. This is a thin folio containing copies of letters written from Calcutta by a Mr. Tisoe Saul Hancock to his wife in England. It is not quite clear how these letters came to be among the Hastings MSS., though there is abundant evidence that Hancock was one of Hastings' dependents; Mrs. Hancock was also a great friend of Hastings and possibly a relation. Hancock was originally a medical man, but he disliked his profession and engaged in trade, in which by his own account he was not very successful. His letters to his dear Phila (Philadelphia) give so many interesting details of Calcutta life, that I shall insert extracts from them in an appendix. Those which relate to Hastings will be noticed in their place.

The only parts of Hastings' life which still remain in obscurity are his childhood and the interval between his first and second residences in India (1765-1769); but as he himself was always averse to speaking of these periods, it is probable that they did not contain much that was worthy of record, and it would be unfair, even if it were possible, to lift the veil which hangs over them.

In the following essay I shall not attempt to discuss the whole career of Hastings. All I propose doing is to describe his administration of Bengal, and especially to examine his conduct in the case of Nandkumar. The latter incident has been treated of by Macaulay, but he has not gone fully into it, and it appears to me, that he has not done justice to Nandkumar and has let off Hastings much too easily.

Some writers have been foolish or prejudiced enough to declare Hastings perfectly innocent in the affair. Macaulay was far too clear-sighted and too honourable a man to commit such a folly, but he has committed an error which is, I think, of much more dangerous consequence. He has lavished scorn and invective on Sir Elijah Impey, who, after all, was a very subordinate villain in the drama, and has thrown such a glamour over Hastings' share in the matter that we rise from the perusal of the essay with minds much fuller of admiration for the daring and skill of Hastings than of disgust at his cruelty and want of principle.

After detailing all the iniquities of the trial and sentence, and after declaring in his own epigrammatic fashion that everybody except idiots and biographers is of opinion that Hastings was the real mover in the business, he makes the following extraordinary remark:—"While, therefore, we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings, we doubt

whether it can with justice be reckoned among his crimes." Surely there is a strange inconsequence here, and one much more lamentable and surprising than that which the essayist finds in the conduct of Pitt with regard to the Cheyte Singh charge. If Nandkumar was murdered, the brand should be stamped on the man for whose advantage, and at whose instigation the murder was committed, and not on the humble instrument. After all, it was not Impey but the jury who found Nandkumar guilty, and who got him hanged, and possibly both Impey and the jury really believed that Nandkumar had forged, and that he deserved death. The man, however, who put all this in motion was Hastings, and but for him the prosecution would never have occurred, and he therefore is guilty of Nandkumar's blood. So far from the execution not being one of Hastings' crimes, we are inclined to think it is the worst he ever committed, for it is the only one which he seems to have committed solely for his own advantage. In the Rohilla war and in the maltreatment of Cheyte Singh and the Begums of Oude he had the interests of others to serve, and probably he did not reap any personal advantage from these transactions. But the sole object of the prosecution of Nandkumar was a selfish one. Hastings had taken gifts or bribes, it was inconvenient for him to acknowledge this or to make restitution, and so he killed his accuser. There was nothing heroic or even excusable in this, and there is no reason why we should refuse to condemn him for it. Macaulay insinuates, rather than asserts, that Nandkumar's charges were false, but if so, why was he put to death, or why did Hastings never at any time attempt to clear himself?

What makes it the more important that the case of Nandkumar should be set in its true light, is that a work has recently been published under the sanction of the India Office, in which the old rubbish about Hastings' innocence and the malignity of Francis and Elliot has been reproduced. Mr. Markham has apparently found it impossible to edit the travels of Bogle and Manning without having a fling at the accusers of Hastings and at Lord Macaulay. Mr. Markham is, I suppose, a descendant of the Archbishop who distinguished himself by his impertinent interference with Burke's cross-examination of Mr. Auriol, and of whom one of Hastings' correspondents (Pechell) thus significantly writes,—“The Archbishop of York is an active and steady friend, and such as a man should be who is thoroughly grateful for the favor you have shown his son.”

The connection of Hastings with Bengal commenced in 1750 when he was only seventeen years of age, and continued with interruptions till 1785. This was an unusually long time for a civilian to have been connected with India, and yet Hastings left the country in the maturity of his powers and lived three

and thirty years in England. A few particulars about his early years may here be given. He was born in December 1732. His mother died a few days after his birth, and his father shortly afterwards deserted him, so that he was left dependent on his maternal uncle. In the Hastings MSS, B. M. No. 28,232, there is a copy of a very lengthy petition, dated November 1733, and addressed to the Lord Chancellor by Warren Hastings and his sister Ann, through their uncle and next friend, John Warren, of Twining in Gloucestershire. The object was to get possession of some little property belonging to their mother, Hester Warren, and the petitioners state that their father Ponyston Hastings of Churchhill in the county of Oxford, clerk, had "lately withdrawn himself from his habitation to some distant secret place and left your orator and oratrix wholly unregarded and unprovided for." At a later period they appear to have been supported by their father's brother Howard.

Hastings set sail for India in January 1750, when he was barely seventeen, and arrived at Calcutta on the 8th October. A memorandum by Hastings, quoted by Mr. Gleig, states that he was the last of eight young men who composed the list of the establishment for the year. The paper, which appears to have been a sort of autobiography, ended at this point with the following observations: "This is all that I shall retain in writing of my private history though the particulars of it, if known, might afford much subject of curious speculation both from their influence on the temper and disposition of mind which constituted my public character and from one circumstance of peculiar uniformity attending the whole course of my existence to the present moment and probably to its ultimate and now not remote period—that of a solitary insulated wanderer through life, placed, by His will who governs all things, in a situation to give birth to events which were connected with the interests of nations; which were uniformly prosperous to those of his own (nation) but productive to himself of years of depression and persecution, and of the chances of want only relieved by occasional and surely providential means, though never affecting the durable state of his mental tranquillity." Hastings, according to Mr. Gleig, remained two full years in Calcutta and was employed there as an assistant in the Secretary's Office. Nothing further appears to be known of his residence in Calcutta. Probably much of his time was spent in learning the native languages, though I am not aware that there is any ground for Lord Macaulay's statement that Hastings was deeply skilled in Persian and Arabic literature. He himself said: "I never acquired a perfect knowledge of Persian, and what I did know was acquired from official practice." In October 1753 Hastings was sent to the Factory at Cossimbazar (Murrshedabad) and in

1755 he became a member of the council there. After the taking of Cossimbazar in 1756 by Suraja Doula, he was made a prisoner, but was permitted to go at large, Mr Synett the chief of the Dutch Factory at Cullapore,* giving bail for his appearance. Mr. Gleig quotes the above from a memorandum by Hastings and adds "nor is this all." "Mr. Drake," continues the memorandum, "and his council wrote to me from Fulta, the place of their residence, near the mouth of the river, after their flight from Calcutta, desiring me to send them intelligence from Murshedabad, and to that correspondence I owe my first consequence in the service."

Holwell in his account of the Black Hole, and of his subsequent journey to Murshedabad, mentions the kindness of the Dutch officer referred to in the above memorandum. He calls him Mynheer Vernet, and says that he and M. Law left no means unessayed to procure their release. He adds "We were not a little indebted to the obliging, good-natured behaviour of Messrs. Hastings and Chambers, who gave us as much of their company as they could. They had obtained their liberty by the French and Dutch chiefs becoming bail for their appearance. This security was often tendered for us but without effect."

In the Hastings' M.S., vol. 29,209, there is a curious and minute account of the surrender of Cossimbazar and the taking of Calcutta. It throws the blame of the loss of Cossimbazar on Mr. Watts, accusing him of pusillanimity and saying that he made his appearance before the Nawab with his hands tied by a handkerchief. It is incidentally mentioned in this paper that Holwell came originally to India as a surgeon. The subject of the loss of Cossimbazar is referred to in Holwell's letter to the Court of Directors, dated Fulta, 30th November 1756, and in it he says that Hastings and another officer escaped the indignity of being put into irons and sent to the common prison at Murshedabad by their being out at the time amongst silk factories.

The following note in the Hastings' M.S. may be here inserted, though it carries down the biography to a later period than I am now dealing with. It is evidently written by some friend of Hastings and possibly by Major Scott.

"Mr. Hastings, who has since made so much noise in the world, after an education in Westminster, went as writer to Bengal in the year 1750 in the 18th year of his age. In 1754 he was selected to establish an aurung in the interior parts of Bengal for the increase of the silk investment of the company. In this situation he remained totally secluded from all society with his countrymen and much esteemed by the natives,

* There is a reference to Hastings' duties as silk agent, dated 24th November 1755, at page 61 of Mr. Long's Selections.

till June 1756 when Surajah Dowlah attacked and took Calcutta. Orders were sent to seize every Englishman in Bengal, and Mr. Hastings was brought a prisoner to Murshedabad. Having lived some time at Cossimbazar and speaking the language perfectly, he was known to many of the principal persons in Surajah Dowlah's Court, so by their intercession and the mediation of the Dutch Governor of Culanpore, upon whose widow Mr. Hastings settled £300 a year for her life, he was released from his confinement and joined the English at Fulta previous to their return to Calcutta. He carried arms as a volunteer in the storming of Surajah Dowlah's camp after the recapture of Calcutta. After the battle of Plassey he was appointed assistant to Scrafton, then sent as minister to the Court of Mir Jaffir. In this office he succeeded him in 1758 and continued in it till February 1761, when he succeeded to a seat in council. He had no sort of concern in the Revolution of 1760, but he always approved and defended the measure as indispensably necessary for our existence. June 1761 to February 1765 he steadily supported Vansittart."

In March 1763, when the question of making the gomastahs or "black agents" of the English, subject to the country powers, was brought before the council, Hastings gave the following interesting statement of his early experiences :

"From the peculiarity of the times and natural propensity in the weaker part of manhood to run from one extreme to another, it has unfortunately happened that the power suddenly placed in the hands of the Nabob's officers for the protection of his people has been so extravagantly abused as to give occasion to a persuasion in many that no power can with safety be trusted in their hands. As I have formerly lived amongst the country people in a very inferior station,* and at a time when we were subject to the most slavish dependence on the Government, and having met with the greatest indulgence and even respect from the zamindars and officers of the Government, I can with the greater confidence deny the justice of this opinion ; and the further from repeated experience that if our people instead of erecting themselves into lords and oppressors of the country confine themselves to an honest and fair trade and submit themselves to the lawful authority of the governments, they will be everywhere trusted and respected ; the English name instead of becoming a reproach will be universally revered, the country will reap a benefit from our commerce, and the power of the English, which is now made a bugbear to frighten the poor inhabitants into submitting to injury and oppression, will be regarded by them as their greatest blessing and protection. It is as impossible for any State to

* Note by Vansittart. "A junior servant of the Company at the silk aurungs."

subsist with a divided power as with none; our servants are as like to make an ill use of their power as the Nabob's are, but are not so easily to be restrained. In whose hands, therefore, will it be so properly lodged as in those of the governments to whom it belongs? To take from them this right (a right which we should never suffer to be questioned in our own districts,) will be to introduce oppression, rapine and anarchy into the country which we are engaged to protect, and whatever temporary advantage individuals may gain from such a scene of troubles, the affairs of the Company must infallibly suffer by it, if not be involved in one common ruin with the country. Permit me to add, it has been observed that the wisest and most permanent states have ever left to conquered nations the exercise of their own laws and by that means ensured their subjection. The power which we have acquired in these provinces has reduced them to a condition as nearly resembling a conquest as it is for our interests to wish it, but if we take so ungenerous as well as impolitic an advantage of this weakness as to put it into the power of every Banyan who calls himself an English servant to tyrannise over the inhabitants without control, this is not only to deprive them of their own laws but to refuse them even the benefit of any."

I think that the above is creditable both to Hastings and to the natives of Bengal. It is especially honourable to Hastings that he wished to put the banyans under the country powers. He stood alone in this view; even Vansittart, who was president, deserting him on this occasion and voting against him.

While at Murshedabad, Hastings engaged in plots against Surajah Dowla, and when they were discovered he fled, first to Chunar and afterwards to Fulta. At this last place he is said to have made the acquaintance of a widow-lady—Mrs. Campbell, whom he shortly afterwards married. She was the widow of a Captain Campbell who was in the Company's service, and very probably was the Captain Dugald Campbell, whose commission Holwell refused to sign at Fulta on the ground that Drake and the others had divested themselves of all right or pretension to the government by abandoning Calcutta when it was besieged. Mrs. Campbell was in Calcutta when it was besieged, and if her husband had then held the rank of Captain his name would doubtless have appeared in Holwell and Orme's minute descriptions.* Orme tells us that after the taking of Budge-Budge by the English relieving force, some drunken sailors got into

* I do not know how Mrs. Campbell escaped from Calcutta, but I cherish a hope that she may have been one of the ladies who were so chivalrously rescued by one of Mir Jaffir's

officers, (See the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin*. When we think of the horrors of the Black Hole, we should not forget this honourable incident of the siege.

it, and taking the sepoy there for the enemy, fired a volley and killed Captain Campbell, an officer of the Company's troops. It is very probable that this was Mrs. Hastings' first husband, but if so she must have married a second time in 1757, and not in 1756 as stated by Gleig, for Captain Campbell was killed at Budge-Budge in December 1756.

From the Hastings' papers it appears that Mrs. Campbell was an Irish lady, and that her maiden name was Jones: for in February 1759 Hastings sends Mr. Creswick a bill of exchange for £200 and asks him to transmit the amount to Mrs. Catherine Jones of Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, adding that she was his wife's mother and that the money was for her use and that of a daughter by his wife's first husband.

Mrs. Hastings had two children by her second marriage, one a daughter who died 19 (the correct number is 23) days after her birth, and the other a son who survived only long enough to be sent home for his education (Gleig). I have found some references to her in the Hastings' papers and proceed to note them.

In a letter from Hastings to Mr. Richard Becher, dated Moradbag (Murshedabad), 13th November 1758, he writes: "I am greatly concerned to hear that Mrs. Becher's indisposition has increased. I wish you would let me persuade you to try what effects the Cossimbazar air may have upon her. The great benefit which Mrs. Hastings received from her coming up to Cossimbazar is my principal inducement for recommending the same remedy to Mrs. Becher. I will candidly own that another not inconsiderable motive is the procuring Mrs. Hastings an agreeable companion, and I hope I need not assure you that nothing will be wanting on her part to contribute, as far as lies in her power, to Mrs. Becher's recovery." I do not know if the invitation was accepted, but it appears from that curious record, the Bengal Obituary (Calcutta, 1848,) that Mrs. Becher died on the 14th October 1759 and was buried in St. John's churchyard. The inscription stated that her death was the result of a long illness occasioned by grief for the death of an only daughter who died at Fulta on 30th November 1756. Mr. Becher, who seems to have been one of the best and most honest of the Company's servants of the day, returned to England, but suffered losses and had to come out again in his old age in 1781, and died in the following year at the age of 61 and was buried in South Park Street burial ground. The inscription is a long one and begins by saying that the stone is sacred to the memory of an honest man.

In a letter to Mr. Creswick,* without date, but which appears to

* Is this the Mr. Chiswick mentioned by Gleig as the gentleman Mr. Chiswick neglected Hastings who gave Hastings his writership. If so, Mr. Gleig's insinuation that seems to be undeserved.

have been written in December 1758, Hastings writes: "I have received your favour of the 23rd January 1758, and am greatly obliged to you for the generous concern you express for my welfare." He then proceeds to condole with him on the death of Mrs. Creswick and adds, "I was afraid the step which I had taken in my marriage would not have appeared to you in the most prudent light. It is a very great addition to my happiness to find that it has met with your approbation. I told you when I first acquainted you with the news of my marriage (as every man would upon the same occasion) that I thought myself happy. I can now with much greater confidence repeat it, having, besides a great similarity in our dispositions, which I think must principally contribute to the happiness of the married state, experienced every good quality in my wife, which I always most wished for in a woman. I acquainted you last year with the birth of my son who is grown a very fine child. My wife was brought to bed of a daughter, the 5th of last October, whom I intended to have called by the name of my benefactress, Mrs. Creswick, but she was carried off by a sudden fit of sickness in the twenty-third day after her birth. I have already informed you of my appointment as second in Council at the Factory of Cossimbazar. My partner, Mr. Sykes, is the third, and the business of the Company's investment has been principally carried on through our hands since the late revolution. The beginning of last August produced another change in my situation. I have since that time resided at the station in the quality of agent for the Company's transactions with Government, which, if not the most profitable, is one of the most creditable employs in the service. I still retain the post of second Export Warehouse Keeper at Cossimbazar, where my family have continued to reside from my appointment to this place. I have met with considerable advantages in trade; if I live, and any fresh troubles commence in the country, I promise myself, with the blessing of God on my endeavours, a rapid return to my own country. One very remarkable event has happened, since my last, in these parts: a very strong and noble fortification has been erecting in Calcutta, the outworks of which will be finished, I hope, in another twelve-month. I forget whether I informed you that one of the articles of the treaty with the Nabob was that the Company should possess a large tract of land to the southward of Calcutta, paying the customary rents to the King's treasury. This acquisition, I hope, will be confirmed in a few days by a patent granted to the Company in the King's name, this having been the subject of the negociations at the Durbar for the two months past. As the management of this affair has been entrusted principally to my care, and there is the greatest appearance of its terminating

greatly to the advantage of the Company, I hope it may be a means of recommending me to your notice. My wife begs leave to present her respects to you and joins me in the warmest wishes for your and your family's health and happiness."

The latter part of this letter refers to negotiations which Hastings was carrying on with Mir Jaffir for procuring a proper deed for the Company's lands. I will return to this subject further on and meanwhile proceed with the notices of Mrs. Hastings.

9th December 1758: "Mrs. Hastings joins with her husband in compliments to Mr. Holwell."

2nd January 1759 "Mrs. Hastings and George (his son) are pretty much the same as you left them, George a little better."

The next entry refers to Mrs. Hastings' death, which must have taken place in the end of June or beginning of July 1759,* for on the 4th of the latter month, Hastings writes to Olive: "You have, I doubt not, heard of the misfortune which has befallen me in the loss of my wife. For this cause, I cannot immediately attend on the Nabob, but Mr. Sykes will wait on him in my stead tomorrow, in order to lay before him the subject of your letter, and I shall endorse this application by a letter to the Nabob, which will, I hope, prove as effectual as if I spoke to him in person about it. I flatter myself you will readily admit of this excuse for my non-attendance at the Durbar. The stroke I have received has proved too severe for me to recollect myself in an instant, or to allow me such a command of myself as I would choose to possess in every negotiation that I undertook on the Company's or your behalf. In a very few days I shall return to the city, and if there should remain any affair unsettled, I shall apply myself with the most assiduous attention to the conclusion of them."

On 15th July he writes to Scrafton in words which show both his grief for the loss of his wife and his dislike of Nandkumar. "Nandkumar's only business that I know of at the city was to overset Daya Ram, which he has laboured at with all his might, but in vain, a proceeding that I should not pass over with so much patience, but that the unhappy situation I have been in, since my arrival, has assured him too fair an opportunity to act as he pleases with impunity." On 2nd August he writes to Holwell, thanking him for

* Mrs. Hastings' tomb is still to be seen near Berhampur, and bears the following inscription, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the Magistrate. It appears, however, that the date is wrong, possibly it is that of the child's death.

In memory of
Mrs. Mary Hastings
and Her Daughter

Elizabeth,
who died 11th July 1759?
in the 2nd (?) year of her age.
This monument was erected
By her Husband,
Warren Hasting, Esq.,
in due regard to Her Memory.
Restored by Government of
Bengal 1863.

his sympathy : "Severe as they (his misfortunes) were, I have, I thank God, strength of mind sufficient to bear them, and to submit myself to the will of Providence though it has fallen to the lot of very few men so early in life to be forced to so cruel a trial as I have."

9th August he writes recommending Mr. Alves for the post of Surgeon to the Factory, and says : "it is the general desire of the gentlemen of Cossimbazar, and my own in particular, from the experience I have had of his diligence and tenderness in his late attendance on Mrs. Hastings." This letter was addressed to Olive, who it seems objected to Alves and preferred Hancock. Hastings wrote again on the 23rd August, but I do not know what was the result.

Hastings sent his son George home in 1761, apparently in charge of Mr. Sykes. On 12th May 1762, Vansittart writes to him : "by the letters Hancock has forwarded to you, you will know that the *Royal Duke* arrived safe in the beginning of August, and that your little boy and his good friend Sykes were well, and I very sincerely take part in the joy which this must give you." On the 23rd idem, Hastings replies in the measured and somewhat formal style which Macaulay finds in his letters to "his elegant Marian : " "I am infinitely obliged to you for joining with my other good friends in mentioning the safe arrival of my son in England, and can assure you that the joy which this news has given me has received no small increase from the part which you take in it."

The boy did not live long: Mr. Gleig tells us that Hastings was told of his son's death almost the first thing after landing in England (1765) and that the sorrow affected him during the whole of his stay there.

I return to Hastings' public career. The earliest letter of his, preserved in the British Museum, is dated Moradbaug, 12th November 1757, Moradbaug, as Bolts tells us, being a garden of the Nabob, some distance out of Murshedabad. The early letters are not of any special interest. The only one I noted was dated 21st February 1758, and informed Mr. Summer and the Council at Dacca, that a purwana had been obtained for the coining of 2½ lacs at the Dacca mint.

Hastings became resident at the court of Murshedabad in July or August 1758, but apparently his formal appointment was not made till some eighteen months later, for I find a letter dated 14th December 1759, signed "your loving friends," by Clive and others, conferring the appointment on him.

On 12th August 1758, Hastings writes to Olive, "Mr. Watts acquainted me, when he was at this place, that he had orders from the Board of Calcutta to appoint me the resident for the Company at Moradbaug in the room of Mr. Scrafton, who

has accordingly delivered over the management of the affairs of this place to my charge. I have already been introduced by Mr. Watts to the Nabob, and the principal persons of this city, but as this is very insufficient to give me the credit and influence which a person in this situation ought to be invested with, I request the favor of you, sir, to give me letters to the Nabob, and the Chota Nabob, recommending me strongly to their notice as a person appointed by your direction, and the Company's agent at this place, for the management of all affairs of the Durbar. The same introduction, I think, would be necessary to the Seats, and Roy Doolub whenever he may return. The Nabob being now on his way to Calcutta, should it meet with your approval, it would be of signal service to me were you to mention me to him as a person in whom you have confidence and recommend me to him in that light. I need not mention to you, sir, how necessary it will be to give me some consequence in my first introduction to an employ of such importance, as on this, my success in it, will in a great measure entirely depend; which consideration, I hope, will excuse my giving you this trouble."

"As I look upon myself to be indebted principally to you for being elevated to this office, of whatsoever advantage it may prove to me with respect to my own private interest, I think it incumbent on me to make my sincere acknowledgements to you for your favourable intentions herein, which I cannot do better than by a constant attention to the business entrusted to my charge, and my earnest endeavours to promote the interests of the Company as far as my capacity will enable me, in which I hope I shall have the good fortune to meet with your approval." This letter is certainly not a good specimen of style, and shows the verbosity which is characteristic of what Macaulay has called, the copious official eloquence of India.* Clive answered it on the 20th August, and sent him letters* of introduction. Hastings' pleasure in his appointment was not long in being disturbed. The first thorn was Nandkumar's appointment to collect the revenues of Burdwan and Nadiya. Hastings thought this was an interference with his prerogatives, and was much aggrieved. On 25th August, 1758, his friend Scrafton writes to him from Calcutta, "I am vexed when I write you that Nandkumar is appointed Collector of the revenues of Burdwan, Nadiya and Hugli by the Committee. This takes Burdwan and Nadiya out of your power: you will have nothing more to do than to collect for the other balances." Scrafton's letters contain frequent allusions to this subject and complain that Nandkumar is supported by Watts. He significantly adds "whenever you have any public complaint against him (Nandkumar) don't fail to represent it

to the Council." On 2nd September he writes, "nothing that can aggrandise Nandkumar will be omitted" (i.e., I presume, by Clive and Watte). Hastings was not long in acting on Scrafton's advice, for on the 7th September he wrote to Clive: "I was greatly surprised at the contents of a letter which I received two days ago from the Burdwan Rajah informing me that Nandkumar had sent peons to him with orders to pay the revenues to him at Hugli, and to repair immediately to Calcutta in order to settle the monthly payments of his tuncaws for the present year."

He then proceeds to express his disbelief that Nandkumar's proceedings were authorised by Clive, and to state that he has forbidden the Burdwan Rajah to obey Nandkumar's orders (see the letter and Clive's reply in Gleig.)

Olive lost no time in answering this letter, for on the 10th September* he wrote, "I have just now received your letter of the 7th instant, the contents of which, I must confess, have surprised me as much as Nandkumar's appointment could you for I cannot account for your ignorance that Nandkumar was to be appointed Collector of the Revenues of Burdwan, Nadiya, and Hugli for the two ensuing years, and that the money collected was to be paid at Hugli. This was agreed upon at Murshedabad when I was there and before we had, thoughts of desiring you to accept of the management of the Darbar affairs, and our reasons for desiring to have the money paid at Hugli, in preference to Muxadabad were to avoid giving the Nabob and the great men about him umbrage in seeing such large sums coming into the Treasury and then sent out again for the use of the English." Hastings made a rejoinder on the 14th September, and his letter, though showing that he was deeply aggrieved at his supersession, yet is an admirable specimen of sense and temper. It is the more remarkable when we remember that the writer was then only twenty-five years old, and that he had recently undergone the disturbing influence of an elevation to one of the highest appointments in the country. He writes: "As I know not whether any part of the remaining balances belong to the Hugli accounts, I am entirely at a loss how to proceed with them, being apprehensive of meeting with a fresh mortification, in case I should again meddle with any of the zemindaries of Nandkumar's jurisdiction. It would ill become me to object against any measures which have had the sanction of your and the Council's approbation. I shall therefore cheerfully apply myself to the small part of the business which

* Holwell mentions in his letter of 30th November. 1756, that when the Calcutta Council heard that Surajah Doula was marching against Cossim-

bazar they sent off letters there to arrive in thirty-six hours, and ordered a large reward to the Kossids (messengers, if they arrived in the time.

still remains upon my hands, of which I hope very shortly to have acquitted myself." He then goes on to explain that he "knew that Nandkumar was to be appointed Collector of the Burdwan and Nadiya revenues, but, neither Mr. Watts nor Mr. Sraffton ever gave me the least intimation that such parts of their revenues as were included in their accounts of the last sixth were to be taken out of my hands. He adds that he has heard that Nandkumar has put peons on the gomestah at Hugli. "I must suppress what I feel from these daily indignities; but surely, sir, I may at least conclude that this proceeding is without your authority, otherwise it will be impossible for me to know what accounts will remain in my charge; and I am sure, sir, it was never your intention in placing me at Moradbaug that I should only hold the business for Nandkumar till he was properly settled and at leisure to take it out of my hands."

Apparently, Hastings had some ground for feeling irritated, though of course the party to blame was Clive and not Nandkumar. Clive was a soldier* and not versed in the formalities of civil business. We have already seen how he appears to have neglected to give Hastings a proper letter of appointment, and now we find him causing heart-burnings and confusion by apprising neither Hastings nor the Rajah of Burdwan of the powers conferred on Nandkumar. But, whether justly or not, it seems evident that Hastings nourished strong resentment against Nandkumar. In a letter of November 1758, he writes that the Nabob is greatly enraged against Nandkumar, and adds that he thinks he would be wanting in his duty if he did not acquaint Clive with the Nabob's sentiments. The Nabob says he was surprised at our attachment to such a man; that he deserved as little from the Company as from him (the Nabob); Hastings then rather hypocritically adds: "I own it is no very agreeable office to me to say anything that may turn to prejudice of another person."

Again in the draft of a letter of 20th November there is the passage: "I cannot omit to inform your Honor that every time I have visited the Nabob he has continually expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with Nandkumar's appointments." It would seem, however, that Hastings did after all, prevail on himself to omit this information, for the passage is scored out in the draft, and does not appear in the letter as printed by Mr. Gleig. No doubt Hastings considered on reflection, that any remarks by him against Nandkumar would be received with suspicion.

In a letter to Sraffton, Hastings writes: "Jagat Chand, Nand-

* Clive's famous orders to Colonel Ford about attacking the Dutch: by-and-bye" are a specimen of his "My dear Ford, fight them directly; off-hand way of doing business."

kumar's son-in-law, tells every body here that a strong party was formed against Nandkumar in order to exclude him the tuncaw concerns, but that he got the better of them all by advising the Colonel (Olive) to send Mr. Lushington into Burdwan as Collector there. A strange story!"

Olive seems to have held firmly to Nandkumar, and on 28th November, he writes to Hastings: "I cannot think Nandkumar deserving of the Nabob's resentment without it be for his known attachment to the English, of which I am fully assured. The Burdwan revenues are little or nothing behind-hand, the tuncaws in the other lands he has nothing to do with, the true cause of the Nabob's hatred to Nandkumar proceeds from his not joining with Oomar Beg in Roy Doolab's ruin and overthrow. Nandkumar has now under the Nabob's own hands offers of a title and jaghir if he would bring the affair of Roy Doolab's letter to a good issue. By this you will judge what the Nabob is about. You may lay it down as a maxim that the Masalmans will never be influenced by kind treatment to do us justice. Their own apprehensions only, can and will induce them to fulfil their agreements. The present situation of our affairs requires our being more compliant than would be consistent with the interests of the Company at any other time." It is evident that Olive was right in his reasons for the Nabob's resentment against Nandkumar, and Hastings in a letter of 9th December 1758, acknowledged this.* It seems that the Nabob had produced a letter purporting to be from Roy Doolab to Kajah Huddin, one of Mir Jaffir's generals, in which it was requested that the latter should assassinate Mir Jaffir † and asserted that Saba Jang, i.e., Clive, was cognisant of this scheme and approved of it. Olive was very angry that Mir Jaffir should imagine him to be capable of entering into such a plot and it seems that the part Nandkumar took in the business was to prove that the letter was a forgery. (There is a translation of the letter in a note to Malcolm's life of Clive, p. 382. See also an account of the matter in Orme.)

Though Olive defended Nandkumar on this occasion, yet it is* but fair to Hastings to notice that Olive had, at a subsequent period, a very poor opinion of Nandkumar, for on 20th May 1765 he writes to General Carnac. "Although Nandkumar may not prove guilty of the crimes laid to his charge yet, believe me, my dear General, he will do no honour either to the Nabob or to the Company in any great or eminent post, which he never was fitted

* Hastings writes to Olive that he did not know before the Nabob's cause of resentment against Nandkumar, not knowing before that he (Nandkumar) was concerned in detecting the forgery of the letter to Kajah Huddin.

† Kajah Huddin was himself assassinated at Shahabad in November 1758 (Holwell's Tracts.)

or designed for; and I can give you unanswerable reasons against his being the principal person about the Nabob when I have the pleasure of seeing you."

I have been thus minute in recording the origin of Hastings' dislike to Nandkumar because I think it throws light on the events which took place sixteen or seventeen years later. It suited Hastings' purpose to say; in 1772 * that "from the year 1759 to the time when I left Bengal in 1764, I was engaged in a continued opposition to the interests and designs of that man (Nandkumar), because I judged them to be adverse to the welfare of my employers." In reality his dislike began at an earlier date, and proceeded from a less honourable cause than a zeal for the Company's interests.

Mrs. Fay tells us in her letter that one of Hastings' characteristics was, that he never forgave. It was on this account that she was so afraid of her husband's irritating him. This characteristic seems to mark his relation to Nandkumar and there is little doubt that the Governor-General of 1772 and 1775 retained a deep sense of the affronts which the young Resident at Murshedabad had sustained in 1758.

The attention to forms which every official acquires, and which we have seen exhibiting itself in Hastings' applications for letters of introduction, and in his complaints about Nandkumar, now led him to detect a serious omission in the Company's title to their zamindari. On 27th September, 1758, he writes, "I have lately discovered what I consider to be a great defect in the Company's present title to the new lands granted them by the late treaty with the Nabob. I understand that these lands are at present held only by virtue of the Nabob's parwanah; but no sanad has yet been granted for them nor have they been duly entered in the Kanungo books as the zamindari of the Company, being stated therein the Mudakhelat of (or lands possessed by) the English Company, as you will observe in the account included in my last in which they are so named, they being a copy of the Kanungo books. This distinction may perhaps appear trivial, but may hereafter prove a subject of great contention if proper measures are not taken to prevent it in time. The Nabob's parwanah will, I doubt not, be of sufficient validity during his life, but can be of no force with his successors if they choose to dispute it." The negotiations about the Sanad occupied two months. On 20th November, Hastings reported that he had paid the Nabob a lac of rupees in accordance with the President's orders. The Nabob asked for a second lac, also for a loan of two more and

* Letter from Hastings to Court of Directors, dated Comimbazar, 1st Sept. 1772.

Hastings took the apparently very bold step of paying him a *fac* on his own responsibility, remarking that it was of the utmost consequence just at this juncture to keep upon the best terms with the Nabob. This proceeding shows that Hastings knew how to act in emergencies, and we are glad to find that his conduct was approved of by Clive. After all, Hastings only paid the Nabob his own money, for he adds that even after the payments the Company was in the Nabob's debt, and he encloses a statement of account to this effect. Hastings' letter gives minute details of the Sanad, and may be seen in Mr. Gleig's book.

There is a letter, dated 13th May 1759, from Clive, which reads strangely after what we know of his conduct to Omichand. Hastings had apparently made some crooked proposal and Clive writes as follows: "I have received your letters of the 27th and 29th ultimo, but by no means approve the proposal you made to the Nabob with respect to Roy Doolab; I perceive that your scheme in so doing was if possible to get at the true design of the Nabob's sending for the Mahrattas. However, I do not think it right that such artifices should be put in practice by us. I would leave all trickery to the Hindus and Musalmans, to whom it is natural, being well convinced that the reputation we have in the country is owing, among other causes, to the ingenuity (*sic*) and plain dealing for which we are distinguished."

In a letter without date, but probably written in end of 1758, Hastings writes to Clive that great complaints have been made by the Nabob against "one John Clarke who has taken possession of two or three Ganjes at Bakkergunge, (*sic*) in the Pargana of Buzurgmedpur, and set up English colours, making use of the English name to carry on an illicit trade and interfering with the zamindaries and Government people in the collection of the revenues and customs. Having myself no authority to take cognisance of any affair of this kind, and being ignorant upon what accounts, or by whose orders this man resides at Bakkergunge, I have thought proper to acquaint you with the complaints alleged against him that you may take such notice of it as you may think it deserves."

After this comes a very creditably written French letter to a M. Courtin.

18th September 1759, a letter to Clive, begun in Latin, *Hodie matutino tempore, C. N. (Chota Nabob, the Nabob's son Minor) me in interiore conclave vocavit et remotis omnibus, hoc mihi mandatum dedit ad te scribendum; ex eo tempore quo domum rediit qui eum comitabantur milites tributarii ne obolum receperant. Jussu patris cunctos dimittere statutum est, ex illa causa his 25 diebus illi cum patre rixu orta est, nunc domi restat nec patrem plus adibit at ille ob hanc rem offensus causa necessitatis*

cum domesticis qui restabant libenter in tuum auxilium adert vocatus. "If he holds this resolution" (adds Hastings in English) "I am glad the dispute is indeed no worse but I much fear the influence of the base counsellors about him, and suspect he will not readily dismiss his forces without another struggle for them."

I do not know if this letter was forwarded to Clive, but we know that the latter knew some Latin, for in a letter given by Malcolm, vol. 2, p. 363, Clive says: "I can go through everything with pleasure as long as I can with truth and without vanity apply to myself those beautiful lines of Horace—*Iustum et tenacem propositi virum, &c.*" Malcolm, vol. 2, p. 106, gives an important letter of Hastings, dated 17th August 1759, urging Clive to remain in India. On 21st September, 1759, Clive writes: "Mir Jaffir's days of folly are without number, and he had long before this slept with his fathers if the dread of our power and resentment had not been his only security. Sooner or later, I am persuaded, the worthless young dog will attempt his father's overthrow. How often have I advised the old fool against putting too much power into the hands of his nearest relative. Tell him from me Rajah Ballabh is an aspiring ambitious villain; and if he does not get him removed from his son's presence he will push him to some violent and unnatural resolution."

Clive departed for England on 8th February, 1760, and was succeeded by Mr. Holwell. His reign only lasted till August when he was succeeded by Vansittart. It was, however, marked by the important incident of the dethronement of Mir Jaffir which was concocted and partly carried out by Holwell though the final arrangements were made by Vansittart. Holwell drew up a memorial describing his administration and this is published among his Tracts; it contains several letters to and from Hastings. Several of Holwell's letters contain pressing demands for money, and show the way in which poor old Mir Jaffir was tyrannised over. In one of 6th May, 1760, Holwell writes, "I am obliged to press your obtaining at least one lac of rupees, and that you will send it down with the utmost expedition." In the same letter he says that he had applied to the Setts for 10 or 15 lacs, which they, under various pretences, had refused. "However, I doubt not but an occasion may offer, for manifesting a proper resentment to that house for this refusal." Two days later he writes "a time may come when they (the Setts) may stand in need of the Company's protection in which case they may be assured they shall be left to Satan to be buffeted."

On 13th June, 1760, Holwell writes, that the Nabob had killed Aliverdi and Shaik Ahmed Khan's widows, and on the 21st instant Hastings writes, expressing great horror of the deed and concluding: "I have hitherto been generally an advocate for the Nabob,

whose extortions and oppressions I imputed to the necessity of the times, and want of economy in his revenues; but if the charge against him be true no arguments can excuse or palliate so atrocious and complicated a villany, nor (forgive me, sir, if I add) our supporting such a tyrant." It appears, however, from Verelst that the charge was greatly exaggerated, if not altogether false, as regards Mir Jaffir's share in the crime.

I may observe here that Holwell's Tracts and the other accounts of his behaviour do not give us a favourable impression of his character and abilities. He was a brave man and wrote a very interesting account of the Black Hole, but he appears to have been foolish and headstrong and was the cause of many troubles. His absurd conduct towards Narain Singh, Surajah Doula's messengers, (see his own account of the affair) seems to have led in part to Surajah Doula's attack on Calcutta, and his conduct to Mir Jaffir in 1760, was harsh and inconsiderate. One does not like to speak ill of a brave man, but on the whole it would have been better for India, and for his own reputation if Holwell had died in the Black Hole. He must have fallen into difficulties in his old age, for the inscription on Mr. Charles Weston's tomb (Bengal Obituary), recorded that he orphaned in his old age his former employer and benefactor, Governor Holwell.

In July, 1760, Mir Jaffir's son, Miran, was killed by lightning, and this event proved the ruin of Mir Jaffir's affairs for his troops mutinied afterwards for their pay and were only pacified by Mir Kassim, his son-in-law's paying them out of his own pocket. This of course gave Mir Kassim influence both with the soldiery and the English, and paved the way for his accession. Holwell's letter on hearing of the news of Miran's death is amusing from its duplicity. He writes in the first paragraph: "the sudden death of the young Nabob is very striking, and must, I think, occasion commotions in the provinces. Had Providence thought proper to have appointed, by the same flash, Rajah Raj Bullabh to attend him to the other world, the country would have had a double benefit." In the following paragraph of the same letter he writes: "you will signify to the Nabob that on the receipt of your letter, I paid every customary compliment to his son's memory, such as minute guns, colours of the Fort and ships hoisted half-mast, &c., and have wrote him also a separate letter of condolence on this melancholy occasion." On Miran's death the question arose of who should be his successor. The choice lay between Rajah Raj Bullabh and Mir Kassim; and Hastings wrote a long and interesting letter comparing the merits of the two men, and giving the decided preference to Mir Kassim. His advice was followed and Mir Kassim was chosen. At first it was merely intended to put him in Miran's place as

Diwan or Deputy Nawab, but on Mir Jaffir's refusing to come to terms he was deposed and Mir Kassim made Nabob in his stead. The first treaty with Mir Kassim was on 27th September 1760, and the deposition took place the following month.

A very interesting description of the deposition was given by Mr. Lushington, and there is also a very good account of it by Vansittart (see his book). It is impossible not to be sorry for poor old Mir Jaffir: "send me to Salah Jung, (Lord Clive,) he said, he will do me justice, or let me go to Mecca." From evidence given by Nandkumar in August 1766, we learn that Mir Jaffir wore the dress of a *fauquir* ever after his deposition as an expression of his mortification and affliction. At this distance of time it is difficult and perhaps hardly worth while to discuss whether Raj Bullabh would not have been a better choice than Mir Kassim. I think, however, that probably Hastings' choice was a mistake. Mir Jaffir favoured Raj Bullabh, and surely he had a right to be consulted; and Raj Bullabh's appointment was, after all, more natural than Mir Kassim's. For it was not proposed to give Raj Bullabh the power for himself. He was only to exercise it as guardian for Miran's infant son, Sidu, who, I suppose, was the undoubted heir. Mir Jaffir therefore would have had no jealousy of Raj Bullabh, whereas Mir Kassim's appointment to the Diwanship at once made him fear that he would be deposed.

It is not true that Hastings took no part in this revolution. On the contrary, Mir Kassim's letters, &c., show that he was the go-between in the matter. Afterwards Vansittart received the Company's approval of the revolution and wrote to Hastings that he had the confirmation of the Company's approbation in *shouls* of private letters. This so delighted Hastings that he wrote in reply (15th April 1762) "interested as I am in its (the revolution's) success I can scarce bear with moderation the joy which this intelligence has given me."

No doubt the Company at first approved, for the revolution brought, according to Vansittart, the following advantages: "Firmans for Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong, half the Sylhet lime, an order to the Shroffs to take the Calcutta sicca, a supply of money for the troops, and a present of three or four lacs for the Company." Afterwards the Company were not so well pleased with the bargain.

Hastings remained at Murshedabad till the latter part of 1761, when he became a member of the Supreme Council. He got this promotion owing to Messrs. Sumner, Macguffee and Playdell having been dismissed by the Court of Directors for having, in conjunction with Clive and Holwell, written an insubordinate letter on 29th December 1759. The result of the Court of

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Directors' tardy severity was very unfortunate, as Messrs. Carter, Hay, and Johnstone, who were bitterly opposed to Vansittart and his policy of appointing Mir Kassim got into council thereby and the opposition obtained a majority.

Vansittart was a Madras man, and therefore was regarded by the Bengal civilians as an interloper. This would have mattered little had he possessed force of character, but unfortunately he was weak, and also not absolutely clean-handed. Hence he was quite unable to curb the fierce buccaneers in the Council and the service, and as Sir John Malcolm says: "there is no part in our Indian History so revolting as the four years of the weak and inefficient rule of Mr. Vansittart." On 5th March 1762, Hastings was appointed by the Council to confer with Mir Kassim about the inland duties. He was chosen, the letter says, on account of the Governor (Vansittart) being aware that the Nabob had great confidence in him. Hastings went up country and had a conference with the Nabob on 13th May, at Sasseram. An admirable letter of his, dated 25th April 1762, giving an account of the oppressions of the English traders, is given in Vansittart and Gleig.

Vansittart went up country afterwards, and the result was the famous treaty of Monghyr, which was disallowed by the majority of the council and which led to the war. It is pleasant to note that there were two men among the English who seem to have been beloved even amid the contention of parties. These were Vansittart and Amyelt, both of whom are affectionately written about. Vansittart tells us that Amyelt was a good man misled by Fullarton, and Verelst says that he was universally beloved. On the other hand Bolts speaks with great regard of Vansittart.

In October 1762 Hastings had the disagreeable task of sitting on a commission to try Colonel Caillaud for instigating the assassination of the Shahzada. Hastings did not like the job and tried to get off (letter to Vansittart 23rd May 1762). Caillaud was acquitted, but certainly he did not come well out of the affair. (See the story in Burke who speaks of it as the story of the three seals, and also in Appendix No. 10, to 1st Report for 1773.) In a consultation of 15th February, 1763, Hastings is spoken of as the chief of Burdwan, but perhaps this was only a paper-appointment. In June of that year he had an altercation with Mr. Batson, and the latter had the brutality to strike him in the Council-chamber. (See the story in Mr. Long's Selections, No. 658, page 320.) On 7th July 1763 war was declared against Mir Kassim, and Mir Jaffir was restored. Hastings' minute of the 8th idem is worth quoting on account of its public spirit and ability. "It is long since I foreboded that our disputes with the Nabob would terminate in an open rupture, but as, from the ill-opinion which I had of his strength I

expected that our contention with him would be of a very short duration, nor otherwise affect the interests of the Company than in the after ill-consequences of a broken and disordered state; and as I had not the same tie upon me with the President in respect to any military charge, it was my resolution, as soon as war should be declared, to resign the Company's service; being unwilling on the one hand to join in giving authority to past measures of which I disapproved and of a new system which I judged detrimental to the honour and interests of the Company; and apprehensive on the other, that my continuance in the Board might serve only to prejudice rather than advance the good of the service in keeping alive, by my presence, the disputes which have so long disturbed our counsels, and retarding the public business by continual disputes and protests. But since our late melancholy advices give us reason to apprehend a dangerous and troublesome war, and from the unparalleled excess of barbarity and treachery with which it has opened on the part of the Nabob, it becomes the duty of every British subject to unite in the support of the common cause. It is my intention to join my endeavours for the good of the service, not only so long as the war may last, but so long as the troubles consequent from it may endanger either the Company's purse (?) or the safety of this colony. On the same principle, and to remove every appearance of dissension amongst ourselves, I will freely set my hand to the declaration by the Board though I still abide by the sentiments which I have all along expressed, of the measures taken in the course of all our disputes with the Nabob, hereby confirming all that I have declared in my former protests and minutes which stand upon record in our consultations."

The expression of these sentiments is of course quite consistent with Mr. Gleig's statement that Hastings always spoke of the deposition of Mir Kassim as in the highest degree disgraceful to the English character in India.

I may here note that the Hastings MS. vol. 29, p. 209, contains a most curious and interesting account of the sufferings of some Englishmen who were taken prisoners by Mir Kassim at Monghyr (?) and eventually conveyed to Patna. It certainly should be printed if this has not been done already. It appears to have been written by a medical man, from an allusion in it to instruments. The writer, however, was not Dr Fullarton, as it mentions they had a letter from him desiring them to come over to Patna. It begins thus:—June 23rd. "Being the anniversary of the battle of Plassey we all dined at the Factory. It describes the wounding and subsequent death of Captain Carstairs, &c."

It is remarked by Lord Macaulay that little is known of

Hastings' conduct at the time when the abuses of private trading were at their height and that the little that is known and the circumstance that little is known must be considered as honourable to him. This criticism is probably just and I think we might even go further and say that parts of Hastings' public conduct, such as the position taken up by him with regard to the jurisdiction of the country courts, are highly creditable to him. It must not be supposed, however, that Hastings abstained from private trading. Probably that was almost the only means of subsistence which civil servants then possessed. Hastings was an unfortunate trader, and his friend Sykes wrote of him that he had played his cards very badly and left his accounts in great confusion. Possibly he had neglected his private affairs for the sake of his public duties, but his transactions as a trader were on rather an extensive scale. One of the chief points urged by the opponents of the Monghyr Treaty was that Vansittart and Hastings had made a private arrangement with Mr Kassim whereby their boats were to pass free, and there seems to have been some ground for the charge. Batson, according to Bolts, gave evidence about this before the House of Commons, and Johnstone in a minute of 21st July 1764 wrote as follows: "While Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings carried on their trade, none in the settlement had so many European agents and other people up the country as they had. Some of these if we credit the allegations against (illegible in notes) and Mr. Moore at Rangpur carried it with as high a hand as any others that have been charged with an abuse of the power and name of the English. While these gentlemen were carrying on their trade in its greatest extent and had not declared their intention of going home, I do not recollect that their zeal for the English name which in their former particular transactions and trades had been so little considered gave occasion to any proposals for recalling all English agents; that they should do so when their affairs are collecting and themselves not likely much longer to be interested in the consequences is not strange."

Hastings had also a timber trade in Bakarganj and had two agents there, Captain Rose or Ross and Mr. Kelly. The former of them was afterwards killed by *dacots* near Sataluri. Among the Hastings MS. there is a book of letters addressed to these agents. They are not in Hastings' handwriting but they seem to breathe his spirit and the tone of their instructions is liberal and gentlemanly. No. 655 of Mr. Long's selections p. 319 gives an interesting notice of Hastings' trade at Bakarganj. At an earlier date, *viz.*, 1762, Hastings had a contract with Government for the supply of bullocks (see the correspondence in Gleig). Burke referred to this contract in his speech and said "a man

may be an honest bullock contractor, God forbid! that many of them in this country should not be very honest, but I find his (Hastings') terms were nearly four times as high as those which the House of Commons considered as exorbitant."

In a letter of the Court of Directors of 16th March 1768, para. 36, they say they had heard that Lord Clive had proofs of seven lacs of rupees being taken for the Monghyr Treaty.

On the other hand, the anonymous translator of the *Seir Mutakhereen*, (a renegade Frenchman) says in a note, "Vansittart, who had brought a lac of property into Bengal and left it with no more than nine (a sum which his very salary and commission could have easily made up) was very far from being worth one-tenth of the property of his Diwan (Ram Chand). Although both the Governor and Hastings were so much cried down at the time for having sold Bengal to Mir Kassim for twenty-two lacs, an assertion proved to be an atrocious calumny when Vansittart after a five years' administration set out for England with less than ten lacs, and Hastings, his associate, proved to be so poor that having in vain applied to his Diwan (Kantu) for a supply of Rs. 12,000 for present subsistence in England, he was at last obliged to receive assistance from Aga Bedross (Coja Petrusse), but without being able to pay it sooner than ten years after when Hastings was second at Madras."

Gleig says that Hastings went home with Vansittart, but it appears from an entry in the council-books that Vansittart went home in December 1764. Hastings went home in the *Medway*, I believe, some time in February 1765, and was accompanied by his friends the Hancocks.

I have now completed the notice of the first part of Hastings' Indian career, and hope in a subsequent number of the *Review* to deal with the second and much more interesting and important part.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. II.—PUPPET-SHOWS AND PUNCH.

IT was a plausible suggestion of Voltaire, that Gregory of Nazianzen composed sacred dramas with the hope of weaning the Christians of Constantinople from their passion for pagan plays. The earliest scriptural pieces performed in England were written in Latin, which quickly gave way to Norman French, succeeded in its turn by English at the commencement of the twelfth century. The first miracle-play of which anything is known, professed to commemorate the Life of St. Catherine, and was composed by Geoffrey, Abbot of St. Albans, through whose influence it was acted at Dunstable about the year 1110. To Ralph Higden, however, who flourished in the reign of Edward III., must be assigned the honour of popularising miracle-plays written in "the birth-tongue." They were then, and long afterwards, performed in churches and churchyards, and sometimes lasted a whole week, no fewer than a hundred actors being frequently engaged for one piece. The entire life of a Saint, from his birth to his martyrdom, would be thus repeated, the spectators passing to and fro as fate or free-will might affect them. By degrees the regular clergy retired from the stage in favour of parish clerks, tradesmen, and mechanics, and they in the end were supplanted by puppets. The elder Disraeli states, in his essay on "Primitive Dramas," that in 1417 an English Mystery on the Nativity, as miracle-plays came to be called, was performed in presence of the Emperor Sigismund at the period of the Council of Constance, and was the first ever witnessed in Germany. Bishop Bonner, in the time of Henry VIII., forbade the performance of any kind of play within the walls of a church, and seeing that Beelzebub commonly appeared as the chief comic actor it may be inferred that the interdict was not uncalled for in the interests of religion and morality; and in England, "Moralities" had already begun to supersede the old fashioned monkish "Mystery." At Turin, however, the mystery of the "Damned Soul" was represented by a company of strolling players so late as 1739, and during Carnival similar pieces have delighted the populace of Vienna and other large towns in Roman Catholic countries, until quite recently. Indeed, even in Cornwall, the very silly performances known as Guary-Miracles illustrate the difficulty of effacing the traces of ancient customs and usages. The present writer, too, remembers how in his childhood the village boys near Laycock, in Wiltshire, went round from house to house, reciting with wonderful volubility doggerel verses in praise of St. George of Merry England, who was distinguished by a cocked hat and much coloured paper. A terrific combat with wooden swords was part

of the entertainment, but instead of a dragon the vanquished enemy of mankind had come to be Old Boney.

In the reign of Queen Mary miracle-plays were revived for a short time, but popular taste no longer set in that direction, having unmistakably turned towards the Moralities which first came into vogue in the time of Henry VII, under the more ordinary name of Interludes. Their primary object seems to have been to relieve the monotony of long wearisome banquets, and under Henry VIII they were brought to a considerable degree of excellence by John Heywood, that monarch's jester. In the *Chronique* of Jacques de Lalain, a detailed account is given of an "entremets" of this description devised by that redoubtable knight for the entertainment of his guests, on the achievement of his famous "point of chivalry" at the Fontaine-des-Pleurs, near Châlons-sur-Saône. The Virgin Mary, the Lady of the Fountain, and an emblematic figure of the town, appeared in the banquet hall, and recited verses which were deemed at the time appropriate and elegantly turned. The genuine Moralities, however, were of the nature of acted allegories, or personifications in action of the cardinal virtues and vices, the Beelzebub of the Mystery Plays finding his counterpart in the "Old Iniquity" or "Old Vice," as described in the Clown's song in "*Twelfth Night*," Act IV, Scene II:—

I am gone, Sir,
And anon, Sir,
I'll be with you again,
In a trice,
Like to the Old Vice,
Your need to sustain;
Who, with dagger of lath,
In his rage and his wrath,
Cries 'Ah ha!' to the devil.

Frequent allusions to this popular personage occur in the old writers. Philip Stubbs in his "*Anatomie of Abuses*," (1595) remarks, "you must go to the playhouse if you will learne to play the Vice, to sweare, teare, and blaspheme both Heaven and Hell;" again, he asks "who can call him a wise man who playeth the part of foole or a vice." In the "*Staple of Newes*" (1625), we read that, "Iniquity came in like Hokos-pokos in a juggler's jerkin, with false skirts like the knave of clubs;" and further on, "Here is never a fiend to carry him (the Vice) away; besides, he has never a wooden dagger: I'd not give a rush for a Vice that has not a wooden dagger to snap at every one he meeteth." In the "*Devil is an Ass*," Ben Jonson inverts the ordinary finale by making Iniquity, as represented by Pug, run away with his master out of Newgate, exclaiming as he staggers off the stage,

The Devil was wont to carry away the Evil,
But now the Evil outcarries the Devil.

Dr. Johnson speaks of "the devil very lustily belaboured by Punch" as an old English tradition, and it will be shown hereafter that Punch is the legitimate successor of the Old Iniquity, though the wooden sword has become the appanage of Harlequin. Strutt, too, makes mention of an "old stage direction for the Vice to lay about him lustily with a great pole, and tumble the characters one over the other with great noise and riot 'for dysport sake.'" In the beginning, the Moralities were performed by actors, but after a time they became the peculiar province of puppets, or "motion-men," as they were then called, already famous for their presentment of the History of King Bladud, the merry jests of Robin Hood, Maid Marion, and Little John, and many other subjects taken from the old Ballads. These, together with Hobby-horses, Moorish dancers, Giants, and Ogres, were doomed to make way for the personifications of Perverse Doctrine, Gluttony, Vanity, Lechery, Mundus, and Old Iniquity. In "King Lear," Act II, Scene II, Kent cries to Oswald, "Draw, you rascal: you come with letters against the King, and take Vanity, the puppet's part against the royalty of her father." In "The Devil is an Ass," Satan summons Old Iniquity, at the request of Pug, and remarks, that in those days, (1560),

Every great man had his Vice stand by him
In his long coat, shaking his wooden dagger.

It is in this sense that Juliet, Act III, Scene V, denounces her nurse as an "Ancient damnation. O most wicked fiend!" So too, Malvolio, (Twelfth Night, Act II, Scene VI) protests that he "will be point-devise, the very man," and Hamlet, Act III, Scene IV, styles his uncle, "a Vice of kings."

Mummers and pageants, the latter being usually made of wicker-work and inspired with motion and gesticulation by hidden strings, were common in England as early as the thirteenth century, while the former administered to the coarse and depraved tastes of the age. In the reign of Edward III, we read of mummers being whipped out of London by reason of the indecency of their performances in the court-yards of taverns. On state occasions, however, both mummers and pageants served to amuse, not only the rabble, but the court likewise, down to the end of Elizabeth's reign. Movable figures were also the delight of children in the days of chivalry; and in Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes" may be seen designs of knights on horseback tilting at one another, sometimes placed on little platforms with wheels, sometimes pulled by strings, and at other times merely pushed by the hand. The knights were movable so far, that when struck by the adversary's lance in full "attaint" they were borne back upon the crupper.

When substantial theatres began to be built for dramatic per-

performances, the strollers' booths were given over to the rabble, and the "tragitour" degenerated into a common juggler, assisted by a "bourdour" or jester. At this stage the transition from actors to wooden images was easy and natural, for the latter cost nothing beyond their original construction and an inexpensive wardrobe. A play thus enacted was called a "droll," or "drollery," and the performances were known as popets, popelets, puppeta, mammeta, and motions—the last name being also applied to the piece itself. In "The Tempest," when Ariel and the other sprites produce the banquet, King Alonso asks in surprise: "What beings be these?" and Sebastian replies: "A living drollery." Chaucer, in "The Miller's Tale", has:—

Ther' is no man so wise that coude thenche
So gay a popelot or swiche a wenche,

and in his Prologue to Sir Thopas:

This were a popet in an arme to embrace
For any woman, smal and faire of face.

Allusions in Shakespeare to both puppet and motion may be met with in many plays. In the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act II, Scene I: Speed exclaims while watching Silvia: "O excellent motion! O exceeding puppet! Now will he interpret to her." The individual who explained the pantomimic action of the puppets, it may be parenthetically remarked, was called 'the interpreter. Grumio in "Taming of the Shrew," Act I, Scene II, says, "Give him gold enough and marry him to a puppet or an aglet baby"—that is, to one of the small graven figures, sometimes death's heads, that were attached to the ends or tagged points of *aiguillettes*. And in the same play, Act IV, Scene III, we come upon the word in three consecutive lines:

Kath. "Belike, you mean to make a puppet of me.

Petruc. "Why, true; he means to make a puppet of thee.

Tailor. "She says, your worship means to make a puppet of her."

Helena and Hermia, in "A Midsummer Night's Dream," Act III, Scene II, while suffering from Puck's mistake, have a sharp encounter, in which the former cries, "Fie, fie! you counterfeit, you puppet, you;" and the latter replies: "Puppet, why so? Ay, that way goes the game." Hamlet, too, says to Ophelia, Act III, Scene II, "I could interpret between you and your love, if I could see the puppets dallying." In "The Pilgrim" of Beaumont and Fletcher, Alphonso, Alinda's father, thus apostrophises the silent Pedro, disguised as a beggar: "What country craven are you? Nothing but motion? A puppet pilgrim?" Ben Jonson, again, in "The Silent Woman" makes Episcene exclaim, "Why, did you think you had

married a statue or a motion only? One of the French puppets, with the eyes turned with a vice?" And Subtle in "The Alchemist," says: "And on your stall a puppet, with a vice," showing that winking dolls had already been introduced into England, and by way of France. That the word "motion" was applied to the piece as well as to the puppet appears from many instances. Autolycus in the "Winter's Tale," Act IV, Scene III, describing his own antecedents, says: "Then he compassed a motion of the Prodigal Son." So, in "Every man out of his Humour," Act II, Scene I, Sogliardo refers to what was perhaps rather a moving picture than an actual puppet show: "They say there's a new motion of the City of Nineveh, with Jonas and the whale, to be seen at Fleet Bridge." *Lanthorn Leatherhead* in "Bartholomew Fair," Act V, Scene I, is more explicit:

"O, the motions that I, *Lanthorn Leatherhead*, have given light to, in my time, since my master Pod died! Jerusalem was a stately thing, and so was Nineveh and the City of Norwich, and Sodom and Gomorrah with the rising of the prentices, and pulling down of the * * * upon Shrove Tuesday. But the Gunpowder Plot, there was a get-penny! I have presented that to an eighteen or twenty-pence audience nine times in an afternoon. Your home-born projects prove ever the best, they are so easy and familiar; they put too much learning in their things nowadays."

In "*Gammer Gurton's Needle*," (1517) one of the characters protests he will go and "travel with young Goose, the motion-man, for a puppet player," and many more illustrations might be adduced to prove the double acceptance of the word "motion." The name "Mammet" is of much less frequent occurrence and it may be questioned if, in either of the two instances in which it is used by Shakspeare, any reference is intended to puppets. *Hotspur*, for example, says to *Lady Percy*; *Henry IV*, Act. II, Scene IV:

"I care not for thee, Kate; this is no world
To play with mamnets, and to tilt with lips."

In this passage it is evidently an adaptation of the Latin "mamma" and signifies breasts. Again, in "*Romeo and Juliet*," *Capulet* seems rather to mean "mammy-sick," or a "mamma's pet," than a movable image:

And then to have a wretched puling fool,
A whining mammet, in her fortune's tender,
To answer, "I'll not wed, I cannot love,
I am too young, I pray you, pardon me."

The meaning here is certainly doubtful, though it is undeniable that *Chronicle-plays* are mentioned by several writers as being "acted by mamnets." Permanent theatres for puppet-shows were opened in *Holborn*, *Smithfield*, *Paris Garden*, at the *Fleet*

Bridge, at Brentford, and above all, at Eltham, which was honored by the patronage of dwellers at "the polite end of the town." If Jonson's "Tale of a Tub" may be taken as a fair portraiture of the times, there was nothing uncommon in a young gentleman of good social position giving an entertainment of this description for the recreation of his family and friends, and in "Cynthia's Revels;" Act IV, Scene I, Phantastes' remarks: "As I were a shepherdess, I would be piped and sung to; as a dairy wench, I would dance at maypoles and make syllabubs; as a country gentlewoman, keep a good house, and come up to term (i.e., to town during the law terms) to see motions." The Puritans naturally denounced puppets almost as vehemently as they did actors, and accordingly we find "Zeal of the Land Busy" brought forward in "Bartholomew Fair" as a type of narrow-minded intolerance. At that time one Pod, or Captain Pod, had achieved a certain distinction as a showman, and was succeeded by an individual named Cokely. Notwithstanding the aversion of the early Puritans, puppet-shows were suffered to remain unmolested during the suspension and final suppression of dramatic performances—possibly, because of the scriptural origin of so many of their set pieces. Particular mention is made of a troop of opera-puppets whose reputation carried them from Norwich to London, where they were much run after even by persons of quality. Under the Restoration puppet-shows still held their own, in spite of the revived rivalry of the regular drama. The following entries in Pepys' Diary attest the superiority of certain Italian fantoccini over the ordinary puppets of the period.

"November 12th, 1661. My wife and I to "Bartholomew Fayre" with puppets (which I had seen once before and the play without puppets often) but though I love the play as much as ever I did, yet I do not like the puppets at all, but think it to be a lessening to it."

"May 9th, 1662. Went to Covent Garden, to see an Italian puppet play, that is within the rayles there—the best that ever I saw, and great resort of gallants."

"May 23rd, 1662. My wife and I to the puppet play in Covent Garden, which I saw the other day, and indeed it is very pleasant. Here, among the fiddlers, I first saw a dulcimer played on with sticks knocking of the strings, and is very pretty."

"August 30th, 1667. Leaving my wife to come home with them, I to Bartholomew Fayre to walk up and down, and there among other things find my Lady Castlemaine at a puppet-play, "Patient Grizell," and the street full of people expecting her coming out."

The Italian troop exhibited at Whitehall before Charles II and

his Court on the 8th October, 1662, after which no more is heard of them ; but at the commencement of the next century a showman named Powell became a formidable competitor to the Italian Opera in the Haymarket, and had the signal honour of being more than once noticed by Addison and Sir Richard Steele. The first mention of Powell is in the "Tatler," May 17th, 1709, in a letter supposed to be written from Bath, and descriptive of a puppet-show, entitled : "The Creation of the World," in which Punch and his wife were introduced dancing in the Ark, for the amusement of Noah and his family during the flood. At the conclusion of the piece Mr. Punch addressed some pretty compliments to his patrons, and bowed "until his buttons touched the ground." From Bath Powell removed his puppets to London, and established them under the Piazza at the East end of Covent Garden, where they became so attractive that Steele ("Spectator," March 16th, 1710-11,) represents the Under Sexton of St. Paul's Church as complaining that his congregation, during the last fortnight, had taken the tolling of his bell, morning and evening, as a notice that the puppet-show exhibition was about to begin. Another pretended correspondent writes that he had been to see "the two leading diversions of the town"—"the Opera at the Haymarket and that under the little piazza in Covent Garden." "Mr. Powell professing in his advertisements to set up Whittington and his Cat" against "Rinaldo and Armida." After an impartial comparison of the two performances he was disposed to give the preference to the puppets, not merely on account of their using the vernacular tongue, but because at the Haymarket the sparrows and chaffinches had a bad habit of flying about very irregularly, getting into the pit and galleries and putting out the candles, "whereas Mr. Powell has so well disciplined his pig that in the first scene he and Punch dance a minuet together. I am informed, however"—the satirist continues—"that Mr. Powell resolves to excel his adversaries in their own way ; and introduce larks in his next opera of 'Susanna, or Innocence Betrayed,' which will be exhibited next week with a pair of new Elders. The moral of Mr. Powell's drama is violated, I confess, by Punch's national reflections on the French, and King Harry's laying his leg upon the Queen's lap in too ludicrous a manner before so great an assembly." Addison likewise refers to "the ingenious Mr. Powell, junior," and also—whether seriously or jestingly, it is hard to say—to the sale of a rival troop of "Jointed Babies," whose proprietress, despairing of reclaiming "the rakehell Punch, whose lewd life and conversation had given so much scandal," had at last got him "a post upon a stall at Wapping, where he may be seen from sunrise to sunset, with a glass in one hand and a pipe in the other, as a sentry to a brandy shop." Among the advertisements of the

year 1713 may be seen one of "Venus and Adonis," or the Triumphs of Love, by Martin Powell; a mock opera, acted in Punch's Theatre in Covent Garden, 1713, in 8vo. Other favourite pieces for puppets were "Mother Goose," "Mother Shipton," and "The Children in the Wood."

According to some writers, Punch first came over to England from the Hague in the suite of the Dutch William, but there is reason to believe that he was already acclimatized in the reign of James II., and M. Magnin is of opinion that the merry rogue was introduced into France from Italy in the time of Henri Quatre. It is even suggested that he was originally accepted as a caricature of that "vert galant," and certainly of the Gascon type then so prevalent in the Royal Guards. With the exception of the hooked nose, the French Polichinelle differs widely from the Roman and Neapolitan Pulcinella, while the hunchback appears to have been the immemorial appanage of the *badin-ès farces*, or French Merry-Andrew. We are reminded, indeed, that in the thirteenth century. Adam de la Halle was surnamed *Le Bossu*, not by reason of any physical deformity but because of his pungent and biting wit. The protuberances both in front and behind were less conspicuous in former times than in our own, and may have been intended, as M. Magnin seems to think, to caricature the appearance of a man-in-armour. Polichinelle, originally played by actors, figured among the French marionettes towards the close of the first half of the seventeenth century, and about 1669 was reinforced by "Dame Gigogne," the successor of "Peirine." The troop of players known as "Les Enfants Sans Souci"—who, under their conductor, Pierre Gringoire, were a source of so much amusement to Louis XII—had been reduced to great straits, when suddenly one of them appeared dressed up as a woman, the type of the prolific *roturières*, and hit off exactly the coarse taste of the period, which, judging by "Dame Gigogne's" present popularity, must have been in harmony with that of the modern French populace. "Arlequin" and "Pantalon" were in France contemporaneous with "Polichinelle," but in England they preceded Punch by a considerable interval. Harlequin, for instance, was known to our ancestors about 1589, and Pantaloon was familiar in Shakspeare's time, as may be inferred from his graphic description by the melancholy Jacques, ("As you Like It," Act II, Scene VII.)

The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon,
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side.
His youthful hose, well saved, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice,
Turning again towards childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound.

Again, in the "Taming of the Shrew," (Act. III, Scene I.) Lucentio, freely translating Virgil for Bianca's benefit, says, "*Priami* is my man *Tranio*, *regia* bearing my port, *celsa sentis* that we might beguile the old pantaloon."—a somewhat irreverent allusion to Bianca's own father, Baptista. Harlequin was at that time attired in a "motley" garb of rags and patches, and was represented as an utter dolt, whence the epithet "patch" was commonly applied to a fool. He was gradually supplanted by the Clown, losing his garrulity and boisterousness, and finally emerging in his present glittering attire, armed with the wooden sword of Old Iniquity. The word is said to be derived from *arlot*, old French for a cheat, but we are also reminded that Ordericus Vitalis mentions the "*Familia Herlechini*" in the middle of the twelfth century, and that four hundred years later there was a "*Familia Harlequini*" well known in Italy, but, as will presently be shown, we must probably go back to the *Atellanæ Fabulæ*, for the original conception of Harlequin as well as of Mr. Punch.

In the reign of Queen Anne Punch flourished mightily. In the Harleian Collection, No. 5931, are two advertisements that give a tolerably clear idea of the sort of entertainment that gratified our forefathers, and was judged not unworthy of the notice of a Steele, an Addison, or a Swift.

"At Crawley's Booth, over against the Crown Tavern in Smithfield during the time of Bartholomew Fair, will be presented a little opera called 'The Old Creation of the World,' yet newly revived, with the addition of Noah's Flood; also several Fountains playing water during the time of the Play.

"The last scene does present Noah and his family coming out of the Ark with all the Beasts, two by two, and all the Fowls of the Air seen in a prospect sitting upon trees.

"Likewise, over the Ark is seen the Sun rising in a most glorious manner; moreover, a multitude of Angels will be seen in a double rank, which presents a double prospect, one for the Sun, the other for a palace, where will be seen six Angels ringing six bells. Likewise, machines descends (*sic*) from above, double and treble, with Devils rising out of Hell, and Lazarus seen in Abraham's bosom, besides several Figures dancing Jiggs, Sarabands, and Country Dances, to the admiration of all spectators; with the merry conceit of Squire Punch and Sir John Spendall.

"All this is completed with an entertainment of singing and dancing with several naked swords, performed by a child of eight years of age, to the general satisfaction of all persons.

VIVAT REGINA."

The second advertisement was put forth by Nathaniel Heatley, who claimed to enjoy "Her Majesties Permission," for his exhibition "over against the Cross Daggers next to Mr. Miller's Booth."

In addition to The Old Creation of the World, Squire Punch and Sir John Spendall, to say nothing of music and dancing, the spectators were here gratified by "the glorious Battle obtained over the French and Spaniards by his Grace the Duke of Marlborough." The first part comprised: "The Creation of Adam and Eve; the Intrigues of Lucifer in the Garden of Eden; Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise; Cain going to plow; Abel driving sheep; Cain kill-eth his brother Abel; Abraham offering his son Isaac; the Wise men of the East guided by a Star, who worship him; Joseph and Mary flee away by night upon an Ass. &c." Here we have a Mystery-play, pure and simple, acted by puppets, but at the Gun Music Booth, also at Bartholomew's Fair, we encounter the Italian innovations in the shape of "A New Entertainment between a Scaramouch, a Harliquin, and a Punchello, in imitation of Bilk-ing a Reekoning," and also "A new dances by four Scaramouches after the Italian manner, &c."

Although Latin is nowadays more or less understood by all sorts and conditions of men, there may still be a few who will prefer to read in English the following extracts from Addison's "Machinæ Gesticulantes."

Here, cooped in narrow scene and lowly dome,
Plots, wars, and pomps, and all man's busy day,
On their brief boards the little people play.
But chief, a blustering Manny o'er the rest
Struts, with a broader buckle on his vest,
And rolls his eyeballs big with living light,
Immoderate swells his paunch, and to huge height
Rises his back. The lesser tribe askeance
Ponder his frightful step and giant glance.
He, trusting to his size and unmatched ferce
Rails on the feeble herd without remorse;
And scattering safe his tyrant wit around,
In squalls of joy the wicked droll is drowned.

But now the lineage of this harmless band,
Their latent life, and by what genius planned,
Let me reveal. The workman shapes his wood
Till to the human mould he has subdued
His oakborn progeny; with strappings meet
Arms to the shoulders binds, to the legs feet;
Knits limb with limb, and joint in joint inserts;
Then fits nice blocks, through which his hand exerts
The easy weights. Thus, dexterous, he employs
The secret motion, and affords the voice.
And now complete, each curious puppet shows,
His lines of _____ and chiselled brow,
They leap, they sing, act all their volant airs
And utter shrilling speech, and words not theirs.

The last idea is repeated in Swift's sparkling effusion entitled "The Puppet-show," from which a few lines may be taken for the

benefit of those to whom the Dean of Bromore is only known as the author of "Gulliver's Travels:"

The gods of old were logs of wood,
And worship was the puppets' paid;
In antic dress the idol stood,
And priest and people bow'd the head.
Thus Dædalus and Ovid, too,
That man's a blockhead have confest:
Powel and Stretch the hint pursue;
Life is a farce, the world's a jest.
What Momus was of old to Jove,
The same a Harlequin is now;
The former was buffoon above,
The latter is a Punch below.

In short, whatever men pursue,
Of pleasure, folly, war, or love
This mimic race brings all to view:
Alike they dress, they talk, they move.

A stock may chance to wear a crown,
And timber as a lord take place;
A status may put on a frown,
And cheat us with a thanking face.
Others are blindly led away,
And made to act for ends unknown;
By the mere spring of wires they play,
And speak in language not their own.

Roderick Random, Ch. XLIX, in narrating his love affair with Meliuda, remarks: "I soon became acquainted with a good many people of fashion, and spent my time in the modish diversions of the town, such as plays, operas, masquerades, drums, assemblies, and puppet-shows." Tom Jones, too, while resting at an inn, becomes a spectator of a puppet-show called "The fine and serious part of the Provoked Husband;" (the play in which Colley Cibber's unfortunate daughter, Charlotte, made her debut) "and it was, indeed, a very grave and solemn entertainment, without any low wit, or humour, or jests; or, to do it more than justice, without anything that could provoke a laugh. The audience were all highly pleased." Encouraged by the applause of his rustic patrons, the master ventured to observe: "The present age was not improved in anything so much as their puppet-shows; which by throwing out Punch and his wife Joan" (Judy being a subsequent innovation) "and such idle trumpery, were at last brought to a rational entertainment." To which Tom Jones replied: "I should have been glad to have seen my old acquaintance, Master Punch, for all that; and so far from improving, I think, by leaving out him and his merry wife Joan, you have spoiled your puppet-show." "The dancer of the wires," we are told, "conceived an immediate and high contempt for Jones for

these words," and the company for the most part sided with him, until the discovery of the scandal caused by the maid of the inn with the Merry-Andrew of the show. The Landlady thereupon rates her husband for suffering such ne'er-do-wells to bring discredit upon his house, and recalls to mind the time when "puppet shows were made of good scripture stories, as Jephthah's Vow, and such good things, and when wicked people were carried away by the devil. There was," she continues, "some sense in those matters; but, as the parson told us last Sunday, nobody believes in the devil now-a-days; and here you bring about a parcel of puppets dress'd up like lords and ladies to turn the heads of poor country wenches."

A puppet-show, called "The Pleasures of the Town," was an integral portion of Fielding's dull piece, "The Author's Farce," originally produced at the Haymarket, and printed in 1750. In the Prologue, this novelty is thus excused, if not justified:

Beneath the tragick or the comick name
Farces and puppet-shows ne'er miss of Fame:
Since then in borrow'd dress, they've pleased the Town—
Condemn them not, appearing in their own.

Act II, Scene VII, enters Jack Pudding and announces:
"This is to give notice to all gentlemen, ladies, and others, That
"at the Theatrical in Drury Lane this evening will be
"performed the whole Puppet-show called The Pleasures of the
"Town; in which will be shewn the whole Court of Nonsense,
"with abundance of singing, dancing, and several other entertain-
"ments. Also the comical and diverting humours of Somebody
"and Nobody; Punch and his wife Joan to be performed by
"figures: some of them six foot high. God save the King!"

In "A Dialogue between mad Mullinix and Timethy," Swift immortalises the Punch of the period (1728).

Observe the audience is in pain
While Punch is hid behind the scene;
But when they hear his rusty voice,
With what impatience they rejoice!
And then they value not two straws
How Solomon decides the cause;
Which the true mother—which pretender,
Nor listen to the Witch of Endor.
Should Faustus, with the Devil behind him,
Enter the stage, they never mind him;
If Punch, to stir their fancy, shews
In at the door his monstrous nose,
Then sudden draws it back again,
Oh, what a pleasure mix'd with pain!
You every moment think an age
Till he appears upon the stage,
And first (himself) you see him clap
Upon the Queen of Sheba's lap.

The Duke of Lorraine drew his sword,
 Punch roaring ran, and running roar'd,
 Reviles all people in his jargon,
 And sells the King of Spain a bargain;
 St. George himself he plays the wag on
 And mounts astride upon the dragon;
 He gets a thousand thumps and kicks,
 Yet cannot leave his roguish tricks;
 In every action thrusts his nose—
 The reason why no mortal knows.
 There's not a puppet made of wood
 But what would hang him if they could.
 While teasing all, by all he's tear'd,
 How well are the spectators pleas'd;
 Who in the motion have no share,
 But purely come to hear and stare:
 Have no concern for Sabra's sake,
 Which gets the better, saint or snake,
 Provided Punch, for there's the jest,
 Be soundly maul'd and plague the rest.

It appears from the song of "Punchinello," published in vol. VI of the Musical Miscellany, that in 1731 Punch's outward and visible form was the same as at present:—

My cap is like a sugar loaf
 And round my collar I wear a ruff;
 My rising back and distorted breast
 Whene'er I show 'em, become a jest.

Hogarth also has fixed the rogue's outlines for ever, not only in "Southwark Fair," but still more strikingly in his picture of "The Election," where Punch figures as "Candidate for Guzzleborough." It would have been strange if puppets had passed unnoticed by Goldsmith. In "She Stoops to Conquer," Act. III, Scene I., Mrs. Hardcastle, by way of depreciating Constance Neville's jewels, tells the young lady: "They would make you look like the court of king Solomon at a puppet show" being "a parcel of old-fashioned rose and table-cut things." Of Goldsmith himself an amusing and characteristic anecdote is told by Boswell as belonging to the Memorabilia of 1763:—

"Once at the exhibition of the Fantoccini in London, when those who sat next him observed with what dexterity a puppet was made to toss a pike, he could not bear that it should have such praise, and exclaimed with some warmth: 'Pahaw, I can do it better myself.'"

In a foot note Boswell adds: "He went home with Mr Burke to supper, and broke his shin by attempting to exhibit to the company how much better he could jump over a stick than the puppets."

It has been more than once asserted that Dr. Johnson expressed his belief that Macbeth would be better acted by puppets

than by living performers, but for this assertion the present writer has failed to find any better foundation than a casual remark by the great critic, to the effect that *Macbeth* was not well adapted to the stage, and it may be easily imagined that with the imperfect machinery of those days neither the Witches nor the Ghost would appear to advantage. Indeed, it may be questioned even now if those supernatural appearances do not mar the effect of that marvellous drama, and if it be not rather suited to the closet than to the boards. The fascination exercised by Mr. Punch is duly acknowledged by Gay in "*The Shepherd's Week*," wherein it is said of Bowzybous that:—

Of Bree-shoes he sung, and Punch's feats,
Of pockets pick'd in crowds, and various cheats.

That unluckiest of clever women, Mrs. Charlotte Charke, relates in her *Memoirs* how she gave up her shop "to keep a grand Puppet-Show over the Tennis Court in James Street, which is licenced, and is the only one in this kingdom that has had the good fortune to obtain so advantageous a grant." * "For some time" she continues, "I resided at the Tennis Court with my Puppet-Show, which was allowed to be the most elegant that was ever exhibited. I was so very curious that I bought mezzotintos of several eminent persons, and had the faces carved from them. Then, in regard to my cloaths I spared for no cost to make them splendidly magnificent, and the scenes were agreeable to the rest. This affair stood me in some hundreds, and would have paid all costs and charges, if I had not, through excessive fatigue in accomplishing it, acquired a violent fever which had like to have carried me off, and consequently gave a damp to the run. I should otherwise have had, as I was one of the principal exhibitors for those gentry." * "When I quitted the Tennis Court I took a house in Marsham-street, Westminster, and lived very privately for a little while, till I began to consider that my wooden troop might as well be put in action, and determined to march to Tunbridge Wells at the head of them. When I arrived, there was a General who had taken the field before me; one Lacon, a famous person, who had for many successive years, and indeed very successfully, entertained the Company with those inanimate heroes and heroines." * "I resolved to make the best use I could of my figures without fatiguing myself any further, and let my Comedians out for hire to a man who was principally concerned in the formation of them. But business not answering his ends and my expectations, I sold for twenty guineas what cost me near five hundred pounds."

Not inexcusably does the ill-fated lady exclaim; "Tis certain there never was known a more unfortunate devil than I have been." It is evident that puppet-shows must have greatly degene-

rated between Mrs. Charke's time and Strutt's, for that learned antiquarian describes them ("Sports and Pastimes," B. III., C. II., p. 19,) as consisting of "a wretched display of wooden figures, barbarously formed, and decorated without the least degree of taste or propriety; the wires that communicated the motion to them appeared at the tops of their heads, and the manner in which they were made to move evinced the ignorance and inattention of the managers; the dialogues were mere jumbles of absurdity and nonsense, intermixed with low immoral discourses passing between Punch and the fiddler, for the orchestra rarely admitted of more than one minstrel, and these flashes of merriment were made offensive to decency by the actions of the puppet."

Truly a lamentable falling off since the days when Addison, Steele, Swift, and Fielding glorified the *exiguam gentem et vacuum sine mente populum*, and when it was thought not beneath the *Tatler* to notice the "thread on one of Punch's chops which draws it up and lets it fall at the discretion of the said Powell, who stands behind and plays him and makes him speak saucily of his betters." About the year 1779, however, mention is made of a Patagonian Theatre in Exeter Change, where "The Apotheosis of Punch" was produced,—described as "a satirical masque with a monody on the death of the late master Punch," being, in fact, a bad burlesque on Sheridan's Monody on Garrick. Again, about 1797 we alight upon one Henry Rowe who acted Shakespeare's plays by puppets at York, and invited the public to enter by blowing the same trumpet with which he had sounded the charge and the recall at Culloden. From the commencement of the present century dates the revival of the popularity of Punch and Judy, while puppets have been carried to an extraordinary degree of ingenuity, elegance, and variety by Mr. John Holder, whose mannikins last year astonished and delighted an assembly of juvenile spectators at the Mansion House.

According to the anonymous author of "Punch and Judy," the managers of the popular entertainment known by that name not unfrequently impart an unexpected zest to the well-known performance by local or contemporary allusions. Shortly after the Battle of the Nile, Lord Nelson appeared among the usual *dramatis personæ* and urged the rogue to go to sea with him and fight the French: "Come, Punch, my boy, I'll make you a Captain, or a Commodore, if you like it." "But I don't like it" squeaks the coward, "I shall be drowned." "Never fear that," cries the hero, "he that is born to be hanged, you know, is sure not to be drowned"—an answer hugely appreciated by the gaping audience. Again, during one of the hotly contested Westminster elections of many years ago, Sir Francis Burdett was brought forward in the act of canvassing Mr. Punch for his vote, securing that en-

lightened elector's good-will by kissing his wife and baby. At a country fair a donkey-race by puppets was won by Punch, but, of course, in the hurly-burly that ensued he was cheated of his prize. At another time a characteristic dialogue in favor of a plurality of wives was given between Punch and Blue Beard. Paul Pry, too, has been thrashed for "intruding," and Morgiana, from "The Forty Thieves," and Grimaldi from "Mother Goose," have danced together in Punch's Theatre.

Mr. Collier Payne, no mean authority in dramatic matters, is disposed to regard Punch as the popular representative of Don Juan; and a ballad composed about 1791 to 1793, helps to a certain extent to corroborate this view. The Spanish rake was first introduced to an English audience as "The Libertine Destroyed," in 1676, by Shadwell, probably some years anterior to the first English adaptation of Pulcinella. The version of "Don Juan," however, on which the ballad in question is founded came out at the Royalty Theatre in 1787, and at Drury Lane in 1790. Punch is put forward as the father of a child of "matchless beauty :"

Its mother's name was Judy,
But not so handsome as Mister Punch,
Who had a monstrous nose, Sir :
And on his back, there grew a hunch
That to his head arose, Sir ;
But then, they say, that he could speak
As winning as a Mermaid,
And by his voice—a treble squeak—
He Judy won, that fair maid.

Quickly wearying of domesticity, Punch proves unfaithful and has his nose pulled by Judy, whereupon he flies into a furious passion, breaks her head with a bludgeon, and flings "his little hair out of a two-pair window." His wife's relations becoming troublesome are treated to much stick, and Punch goes abroad for change of scene. His travels are marked by intrigue and murder, culminating in a compact with the Evil One. On his return to England he is arrested by the police at Dover and sentenced to be hanged.

Pretending he knew not the use
Of rope he saw from tree, Sir,
The hangman's head into the noose
He got, while he got free, Sir.

The devil now appears on the scene armed with a pitchfork.

While Punch had but a stick, Sir,
But kill'd the devil as he ought.
Huzza ! There's no Old Nick, Sir.

Right toll de roll, &c.

In Italian, we are told, to "kill the devil" and "drive the devil

into hell"—*cacciar il diavolo nell inferno*—are synonymous phrases, the matter-of-fact English, however, assuming that killing must necessarily mean depriving of life. But granting that this particular presentation of Punch is at least largely borrowed from Don Juan's adventures, there can be little doubt that the original conception of the hooked-nose libertine dates as far back as the *Atellanæ Fabulæ*. These appear to have been introduced into Rome about A. U. C., 540, the principal characters being Maccus, the clown, Bucco, the babbler, and Pappus or Casnar, a ridiculous dotard. Judging from stucco paintings at Pompeii and from a small bronze statue dug up in Rome some fifty years ago, Maccus was got up with a nose shaped like a chicken's beak, long legs, a slight hunch between the shoulders, and the paunch protuberant. The old Oscan dialect, which must have been still intelligible in the Eternal City, was the medium adopted for the utterance of the scurrilous jests and libels of Maccus and his fellows, just as in after times the satirical humour of Pulcinella was veiled in the Roman or Neapolitan patois. During the middle ages nothing is heard of these "low comedians," but early in the seventeenth century Pulcinella made his debut under the auspices of Silvio Fiorello, himself a comic actor, in the character of a peasant of Acerra, an ancient town of the Terra di Lavoro, near Naples. Fiorello's original idea was considerably developed and improved by Andrea Calcese, surnamed Ciuccio, a tailor, who died of the plague in 1636. At that time strolling players acted for the most part pieces *à soggetto*, the plots alone being written out while the dialogue was largely left to the actors themselves. With their natural and national talent for improvisation, the Italian strollers had little difficulty in stringing together smart allusions to contemporary incidents and local events and personages, and whether to render their satire less personal or with a view to their own impunity, they generally wore masks, as had been customary in classic Greece and Rome. Each character spoke in the peculiar dialect of the district he was supposed to represent. Thus, Milanese was the vernacular of Beltrame and Scapino; Venetian of Pantalone and his valet Zacometo; Neapolitan of Pulcinella, Scaramouch, Tartaglia, Bisiegliese, and the Capitano Spavento—the last named interpolating many Spanish words and phrases; Roman of Mgo-Pattacca, Marko-Pepe, and Cassandrino—all three caricatures of Cardinals; Bolognese of Il Dottore and Narcisino; Tuscan of Stenterello; Calabrian of Curello and Giangurgolo; Sicilian of Il Barone and Peppe-Nappa; and Bergamese of Arlecchino and Brighella: the former a stupid greedy rustic with, originally, a blackened face and parti-coloured costume, while the latter was a cunning malicious varlet. Of all these there now remain only

Arlecchino, Brighella, Il Dottore, and Pantalone, in addition to the indispensable Pulcinella, whose name is derived from a Neapolitan diminutive, signifying a chicken—with reference to his nose. It may also have something to do with his moral character, for Pulcinella is an arrant coward, who is thrashed by all the other actors, though he boasts of his own exploits as soon as their backs are turned. He usually appears as a low debauchee, delighting in equivocal jests, addicted to a mean cunning though constantly outwitted, and in the end imprisoned, whipped, and hanged. When Lady Morgan was at Naples in 1820, the *Commedia Sagra* of "Achabe" was performed at the Pulcinella Theatre, in the course of which Elijah and Ahab's high priest abused each other in good round terms, freely exchanging such epithets as *un scelerato impio* and *un scelerato ingannatore*. At the present day the coarse satire of Pulcinella, uttered in the low Neapolitan dialect, may be heard twice a day at the Teatro di San Carlino, in the Piazza del Municipio; while at Rome, a famous Pulcinella, Signor Vitale, daily draws crowded audiences to the Teatro Metastasio, near the Ripetta. In Italy, however, Pulcinella is still a living actor and very often a clever improvisatore, and not yet reduced to the condition of Addison's *homuncio raucæ voce strepens*.

ART. III.—JESSORE.—PART III.

OF the three remaining parts of Mr. Westland's Report, we shall at present only deal with the first two, namely, 'Landed Property,' and 'Agriculture and Commerce,' as they require to be treated at length; and shall reserve the concluding part, the "Gazetteer,"—a subject sufficiently extensive in itself, for a separate and absolutely final paper.

The writer of the Report devotes the first chapter of Part Four to a description of the mode in which landed property is distributed, and the creation of the new class of Zamindárs, who came into existence subsequent to the British assuming the Government of the country. He commences by setting forth that, the few great *Zamindárs* who owned the district when the British Government were established, were succeeded soon after by numerous minor Zamindárs, owing, we may repeat, to the former failing to liquidate regularly their fixed instalments of revenue, according to the hard-and-fast rules of the Permanent Settlement. Among these new *Zamindárs*, some in course of time acquired other properties in different parts of the District, which in the aggregate made up a considerable estate; and of these the Naráil family is considered to be the only one who may be properly said to belong to the District, and hence, we presume, the members thereof honored with a separate chapter.

The landed proprietors within the *Sadr*, or Jessore sub-division, obtain priority of notice, and those of Sayyidpúr *parganá* head the list. Three-fourths, or twelve *ans*, of this splendid property is comprised within the Zamindári of the Rájá of Jessore, and the remaining four *ans*. portion, which we should state was separated from the Rájá's estates prior to the inauguration of the British Government and granted to Saláh-uddín Khán by the Nawáb, forms the *Wakf*, or Muhammadan Trust Estate, created by its subsequent owner on his death. As these have been referred to before in the Report, no further information is given. We may add, however, that the area of the *parganá* is 180·21 sq. mls., or 115,339 acres; that it includes 76 distinct estates, with a population of 49,282 souls, and yields a revenue of Rs. 147,050 *per annum*, taking the *Rupée* to be equivalent to two shillings.* It, no doubt, formed one of the 85 *mahalls* comprised within *Sirkár* Khalifatábád, as entered in Todar Mall's rent-roll of A. D. 1582 given in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*; and which *Sirkár* extended

* We are indebted for this, and similar useful and interesting information, to Dr. W. W. Hunter's valuable

"Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. II.; and we think it as well to mention this fact here once for all.

over Southern Jessore, and Western Bāqiranj, and contributed a revenue of Rs. 135,053 per annum to the imperial exchequer.

Parganá Sháhujiál is next mentioned, and it appears to have formerly belonged to the Nátor Ráj, when Rámjibana was owner thereof, (*vide Calcutta Review*, vol. LVI., p. 7.) but it was sold in sub-divisions, or *dihis*, and different persons became their purchasers.

A large *dihí*, called 'Arpárá, within which Chaugáchhá is situate, belongs to the Mukhopádhyaýas (Mukharjyas) of Gohrádangá, and was purchased by one of their ancestors, Keláram Mukhárya. The best known member of this family was Sarada Prasanna, who died in 1869, when his estates came under the control of the Court of Wards.

Another large *dihí*, known as Kaneshpúr, which includes a portion of Kotchandpúr,* was purchased, we are told, "by Gopimohun Thákur, the principal founder of the Thákur, or Tagore family." It is a well known fact that, this eminent Hindu family are reckoned by their caste as *Pir Ali Bráhmans*, and numerous tales are current as to how they acquired this unenviable distinction. On this head Mr. Westland says, the first of the family who bore it was Purushattam,† who received it from Pir Ali, a Muhammadan officer of some authority, in this wise. It being settled in debate that the smelling of forbidden meat was only little short of actually eating it, Pir Ali contrived to bring a couple of Bráhmans near enough to it to smell it, and that either Purushattam was one of them, or he was compelled *vi et armis* to marry the fair daughter of one of these two tainted Bráhmans, who afterwards acquired the Muhammadan names of Jamál Khán and Kamal Khén. The descendants of these two persons now reside in Basantia, about fourteen miles from the station of Jessore, and they bear a Hindu first name, with the affix of "Khan Chaudhari" thereto, and the result must be a curious jumble of heterogeneous names.

Another, and in some respects similar version, is given by Bábu Gaur Dás Báisákha, Deputy Magistrate, in *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XXXVI, p. 132. He there writes that, Muhammad Tahir, alias Pir Ali, ‡ originally a Hindu who had renounced the religion of the trident for that of the crescent, having heard from one

* The prefix, *Kot*, is a Persian word, signifying "Fort," so this place was, doubtless, a strong-hold of some sort or another, during the Muhammadan Government of the country, of which more hereafter.

Dr. Hunter says, that the first to whom this designation was applied was

Purúshattam Bidyabagis, and Bábu Gaur Das Baisakha says Naranaray Ray, who was not a Tagore.

† Dr. Hunter says in vol. I, p.p. 57 and 58, of his "Statistical Account of Bengal," that Pir Ali Khán "forcibly compelled one Purúshattam Bidyabágis to smell his food."

Naranarayana Ray,* a high caste Bráhmán, that "smelling" was equivalent to "half-eating," caused some cooked forbidden food to be brought forward by stealth, and the Bráhmán having lifted his cloth to his nose, was declared to have "half eaten," and thenceforth became an outcast, and his descendants are designated "*Pir Ali Bráhmans*." An ancestor of the Tagore family became associated, in what manner it is not stated, with this man, and thereby his descendants too have acquired the title of Pir Ali.

A third, and altogether different tale, is that related by Bábu Kisori Chánd Mitrá, to account for it, in his "Memoir of Dwarká Náth Tagore." It is there stated that the Tagore family have earned the designation of Pir Ali from one of their ancestors having married into the family of the *Sudrá Rájás* of Esobpore (Yasufpúr.)

We shall leave the reader to choose one among the above three several accounts as the correct one, but for our own part we consider them one and all more or less apocryphal:

We further learn from the Report that, for six generations subsequently to Púrúshattam, the Tagores lived in Nárendrápúr, close to Rájáhát, in this district, and then Panchánan Tagore moved to Calcutta, and built a house on the site of what is now Fort William. And, on the re-capture of Calcutta by Clive, the ground being required for the erection of the Fort,—it was then, we ought to state, known as the village of Govindapúr—his son, Joyráu, moved to another location. The first of the family who gained wealth and position is said to have been a son of the Tagore last mentioned, named Darpanaranyan, who had profitable commercial transactions with the French at Chandarnagar.

We find from the Revd. J. Long's "Selections from the Records of the Government of India," vol. I, p 149, that Harikissen Tagore was one of the thirteen native Commissioners appointed to distribute the restitution money on the re-capture of Calcutta by the British in A. D. 1757, so that the family must have held a prominent position in native society even then, and thought of some account by the Government. And, in a petition by the natives of Calcutta to the Governor, in A. D. 1766, praying for the reprieve of one Radhácharan Mitra, sentenced to be hanged, occur the names of no less than half-a-dozen of the Tagores, to wit Bisanáráin, Dayáráin, Durgáráin, Harikissen, Rámnidi, and Kebulráin. This petition *in extenso*, with the numerous signatures appended thereto, no less than ninety-five in number, is published in the work of the venerable missionary just quoted, page 432.

This family (the Tagores) assert their claim to be descendants

* Mr. Westland says that descendants have retained, the sur Panchanan "entered the service of name of Thákur, which was given the British, and received, as his to all Bráhmans by the English."

of one of the five Bráhmans who came from Kanauj to Bengal at the invitation of Adisur, King of Gaur, in, it is said, A. D. 1066, or about the time of the Norman conquest of Britain. The chief of these Bráhmans, Bhattanáráyan, a son of the King of Kanauj, is said to be an ancestor, and the founder of the family of the Rájá of Krishanagar, alias Nadiyá.

Parganá Sháhujiál appears in Todar Mall's rent-roll as one of the 88 *mahalls* in *Sirkár Mahmudábád*, which comprised the northern portions of the existing districts of Nadiyá and Jessore, and the western part of Faridpúr, and yielded to the Emperor Akbar an aggregate revenue of Rs. 290,256 a year. The *parganá* has an area of no less than 210·75 square miles, or 134,881 acres, and is divided into as many as 36 separate estates, with a population of 66,446 souls, and contributes a revenue of only Rs. 3,120 *per annum*.

Imádpúr and Yúsufpúr are next referred to, as originally forming a part of the estates of the Jessore Ráj.

The former was a *mahall* entered in Todar Mall's rent-roll as appertaining to *Sirkár* Khalifatábád. The *parganá* has an area of 54·30 square miles, or 34,755 acres, is divided into 62 estates, and has a population of 26,120 souls, and a revenue of Rs. 18,110 per annum.

The latter was one of the three *mahalls* comprised within *Sirkár* Fathábád, so called after one of the independent Muhammadan kings of Bengal, Jalál-ud-din Abul Muzaffar *Fath* Sháh, son of Mahmud Sháh. This *Sirkár*, we are told by Mr. Blochmann,* extended over "a small portion of *Jessore*, the whole of *Faridpore*, † southern *Báqirganj*, portions of *Dháká* district, and the Islands of *Dakshin Sháhbájpúr*, *Sondip*, and *Sidhu*, at the mouth of the *Megná*, and that the town of *Faridpúr* lies in the *Hawelá parganá* of *Fathábád*. "It afforded the imperial exchequer an annual revenue of merely Rs. 199,239. As regards the *parganá* of *Yúsufpúr*, it too probably derived its name from one of the same line of kings, namely *Shams-uddin* Abul Muzaffar *Yúsuf* Sháh, who, ruled Bengal from A. H. 879 to 886, = A. D. 1474 to 1481, and who according to *Ferishtah*, was a monarch of learning and ability, and strictly enforced the precept of the prophet: "No one should drink spirituous liquor." The area of the *parganá* is 216·20 square miles, or 138,371 acres. It contains the vast number, of 173 estates, and a comparatively small population of only 65,145 souls, and gives a total annual revenue, of Rs. 83,195. These figures do not include those of *parganá* *Yúsufpúr* which has a separate area of 35·08 square miles, or 22,423 acres, a population of 12,900 souls, and

* Jour. A. S. B., Vol. XII, Part I, p. 217.

† This is evidently a mistake, as *Shahujiál* formed a part of *Faridpúr*.

a revenue of Rs. 15,351 a year. Within it, is comprised 10 estates.

The lands of both *parganás*, Imádpúr and Yúsufpúr, are said to be held by numerous Zamindárs, but the principal portions are stated to belong to the Chaudhuries of Bagchar and the Naupará family.

The former family is stated to be represented by Anandchandra Chaudhuri, whose ancestor, Kabal Rám, about a century past came from Bardawán to this district, where he set up as a merchant, and acquired lands in the aforesaid *parganás*. His younger son, Guruprasád, (whose younger son is Anandchandra,) was for a time treasurer of the Jessore Collectorate, and no doubt thereby attained great wealth; but the best known member of this family was his brother, Káli Potdár, who was also a man of wealth, and distributed it with a liberal hand, in construction of works of public utility and erecting religious edifices. Of the former works, with which we need only concern ourselves, we shall append a list, taken from an article in the *Calcutta Review*, vol VI, pp. 412 and 413, contributed by that veteran writer on Indian affairs, the Revd. J. Long. They are as follows:—

1. Brick-built bridge over the Dháitálá Khál, 5 miles from Jessore.

2. Ditto, ditto, ditto, over the Bhairab river, at Nilganj.

3. At the same place a house of charity.

4. A road of 20 miles from Bangaon a sub-division in Nadiyá, to the banks of the Ganges, at Chukra Dhá.

5. A road of 30 miles, from Chúrámankáti to Agrádip on the Bhagirathi, with avenue of trees throughout.

6. A moiety of the cost for the erection of an iron suspension bridge over the Kabadak river at Jhingagachha. (This came down in 1846, of which more hereafter; but was immediately afterwards re-erected, and remains to this day.)

7. Brick built bridge over the Betná river at Jádabpúr.

8. Ditto, ditto, ditto, at Kaintpúr.

9. Ditto, ditto, ditto, at Naudángá, Haridáspúr.

10. A moiety of the cost of the pontoon bridge at Bangaon. (We add this last item to the list.)

From the same source we learn that, for these munificent acts of liberality, Government conferred on him the title of "*Ráy*," and bestowed on him a *Khillat*, comprising a gold and pearl embroidered crested turban, a pair of shawls, and a *Kaba*. These were presented to him by the Judge of Jessore at a *Durbar* held there expressly for that purpose, on the 30th. March 1854.

The Bagchar Chaudharis also own *taraf* Nauhátá, a large holding situate within the sub-division of Magurá.

The Naupará family, who have been stripped of nearly all

their landed possessions and wealth, derived their origin from Harideb Deb: he dwelt many centuries ago in the District of Húglí, and some of his successors are said to have held high offices under the Muhammadan Government. The first of this family who resided in Jessore was Ratneshwar Ráy, and from him down to the present time there have been five generations. Kálikanta Ráy of the preceding generation was well known in the District.

Janáidáha, or Jhanidáh sub-division is almost altogether comprised within the vast *parganá* of Mahmúdasháhi,* which is one of the twenty-five important *mahalls* included in *Sirkár* Mahmúdábád, and therefore not identical with it, so our remarks on their comparative yield of revenue in the past and present times, which appeared in our last paper, (*Calcutta Review*, vol. LXIV., p. 366,) were written under a mistake, and do not apply. We might here add that there is also a *parganá* named Mahmúdábád in this district, which is small, and has an area of less than 3 square miles.

Parganá Mahmúdasháhi is the second largest in the District, and has the immense area of 326·67 square miles, or 209,104 acres. It is composed of as many as 615 separate estates, yields an annual revenue of Rs. 150,488, and supports a population of 121,587 souls.

The principal proprietors of this *parganá* are the Naldángá Rájá, before referred to, and the elder branch of the Naráil family, who will be alluded to hereafter, when treating of the sub-division of that name. The latter acquired their share of the *parganá* by purchase in 1840, and subsequent years.

Magurá sub-division comprises besides *parganá* Mahmúdasháhi, another considerable *parganá*, called Sátor, portions of which fall into the Fáridpúr district. That which is included in Jessore has an area of no less than 45·23 square miles, or 28,947 acres; is divided into as many as 403 estates; supports a population of nearly 19,282 souls; and produces a revenue of Rs. 50,627 a year.

This *parganá*, we learn, was sold "on the disruption of the Nátor Ráj, and purchased by Krishná Chandrá Pál who is credited with having been the founder of the Pál Chaudhuris of Ránághát, in Krishnagar, and who acquired his wealth by trade. This fine

* With reference to this *parganá* Mr. Blochmann says: "In Jáfar Khán's rent-roll, we find that the *Zamindá* of Mahmúdasháhi was soon after 1722 conferred on Rám Deb, a Bráhman, vide "Statistical

Account of Bengal," vol. I, p. 372. This must have been the same Rám Deb Ray mentioned in the Report, p. 44, as the fourth Rájá of Naldángá, whose date is said to have been from 1698 to 1727 A. D.

property has passed away from their hands, and is now owned, in two equal or half portions by the Gossains of Srirámpúr and one Govindá Sáhá, a trader of Dúler, in Faridpúr.

Nariál sub division comprises the extensive *parganá* Naldi and Mukimpúr.

The former is the largest *parganá* in the district, and embraces an area of 493.20 square miles, or 315,649 acres, and possesses a population of 158,344 souls. It is separated into 842 estates, and its annual revenue amounts to Rs. 147,447. In the olden Portuguese and Dutch maps, namely those of De Barros, Blaev, and Vanden Broucke, of the 16th and subsequent centuries, Naldi is clearly discernable and is evidently meant for the town of Naldi, on the Nabagangá, within the *parganá* of that name. This place is now a considerable trading village, and is situate five miles from Naráil. It is reputed to be of some antiquity, and there is an ancient idol worshipped there, named Kaláchánd.

This *parganá* is owned by the Páikpára, or Kándi family, and a very full account of them will be found in the *Calcutta Review*, No. 115, by, we believe, the late Bábu Kessori Chánd Mitra. Pránkrishná Singh, an ancestor of this family, acquired Naldi *parganá* by purchase. Mr. Westland here says in 1798, but we believe in reality in 1801, at a sale for arrears of revenue due by Bhairabnáth Ráy, a be-námidár of Rání Bhaváni of Nátor.

The Kándi, or Páikpára family have obtained a degree of historical importance from the connection of some of their members with Warren Hastings, namely the able brothers, Bábus Rádhá Kánta Singh and Gangágovinda Singh, who were denounced by Burke in one of his eloquent speeches delivered in Parliament on the impeachment of the aforesaid Governor-General, on the 7th May 1789.

The Report states that Hara Krishna Singh was the founder of the family, and we learn from elsewhere that he was the first of them that settled at Kándi, in the Húglí district, and that he was an *uttárvári káyastha*. He began his career as a money-lender, and gradually amassing wealth, set up a trade in silk, which was then very lucrative. We also gather from the paper of Bábu Kessori Chánd Mitra referred to in the preceding paragraph, that on Hara Krishna's death, he was succeeded by Murálidhar, his son, who was a broker, and one of his three sons, Gouráng Singh *Mazumdár*, served as an officer of the Government, and obtained a *sanad* from the Emperor of Delhi granting him the village of Kándi in perpetuity for the endowment of the shrine Rádháballabh Ji. He had no son and adopted his nephew, Rádhá Kánta Ráy, as his heir, and he and his brother Gangá Govinda Singh, son of Bihári Singh, have been referred to before in connection with Warren Hastings. The son of the latter,

Prán Krishná Singh, was *Naib* or Deputy *Dewan* and added considerably to the acquisitions of the family, besides purchasing *parganá* Naldi. His son, Krishna Chandra Singh, was an extraordinary man, and acted for a time as *Dewan* for the settlement of the provinces of Orissa. He lavished large sums of money in charity and religious endowments, and was well known in the North-Western Provinces—he latterly resided at Mathurá as a *yogi* or anchorite,—as *Lálá Bábu* which, we are told, was an endearing title given to him by his grandfather, and it is usually used in Upper India in addressing respectable *Káyasthas*. His minor son, Srinarayan Singh, succeeded him, and he dying without any male issue, his eldest and youngest wives, who survived him, by his permission adopted Hari Mohan Ghosha and Ram Mohan Ghosha, sons of Krishna Chandra Ghosha (whose brother, Gaur Mohan Ghosha, was father of Ráni Katyáyani, wife of Krishna Chandra Singh, otherwise called *Lálá Bábu*), hence the connection of the Rossarah family with that of Káudi. The above two members of the former family who were adopted, altered their names to Pratáp Chandra Singh and Iswar Chandra Singh, respectively, and became well known for their public spirit and liberality. The first received the title of "*Rájá Bahádur*" in recognition of his benefactions, by a *sanad* dated the 20th April 1854. He died in 1866, and his brother is also dead. The eldest has left four sons and the latter only one, and their estates are under the Court of Wards, in charge of the Manager appointed by Government, Mr. Robert Harvey, who has greatly improved the property, we are informed.

Mr Westland, in this place, alludes to the *Jots* (*Jot*) tenures current in this district, especially in *parganá* Naldi. These *Jots* are, evidently, hereditary and transferable tenures, and are known in the southern part of the district as *Gánthís*. They date for the most part prior to the Permanent Settlement, and correspond with the *Hawálá* tenures of the adjoining district of Báqirganj, which various High Courts decisions have declared to be hereditary and transferable tenures. The term *Jot*, we may add, literally signifies "cultivation," and originally meant, no doubt, "the holding of an actual cultivator." Whilst on the subject of tenures, we may quote from the "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. II, p. 262, what is there stated as to the origin of *Khárijá* and *bázi-afí taluqs*: "The historical origin of the *náoórá* estate "was for the maintenance 'of the Muhammadan river fleet, to protect the Ganges and 'Bráhma-putra from the incursions of Mugh pirates from *Arákán*. "When the *náoórá* fell into arrears under the British Government, "the different portions situated in each large estate were separately sold, and the purchaser became proprietor of a *Khárijá taluq*. The number of these estates on the rent roll of the Jessore district is returned by the Deputy Collector at 1,176. A *bázi-afí*

'*talug* is one which was formerly held rent free, and subsequently resumed and settled under Reg. II of 1819. The number of such "estates in Jessore is 1,445."

The other large *parganá* within this subdivision, Mukimpúr, (which must not be confounded with No. 2 of that name in the Jhanidah subdivision,) has an area of 130·07 miles, or 83,637 acres, is parcelled out into 44 estates, with a population, of 142,068 souls, and a yearly revenue of Rs. 29,869. This *parganá* originally belonged to the Nátor Ráj, and was sold for arrears of revenue on the 25th February 1799, and purchased by one Rám Náth Ráy for Rs. 25,347. It was shortly afterwards again sold, and this time purchased by a Sibrám Sanyál, who in turn disposed of it to Pritráam for Rs. 19,000, as most of the lands thereof were liable to be submerged by the high inundations of that period. Pritráam carried on a flourishing trade in fish and wood with Calcutta, and on his death his property passed to his son, Rájchandrá. His wife, well known as Rásmani, succeeded him on his death, and her daughters, Padmamani and Jagadamba, have been the owners since her death, but they are said to only possess a life-interest in the estate.

The Bose Zamindárs of Sridharpúr in Naráil, are next referred to with commendation by Mr. Westland, and we believe his predecessors, Mr. J. Monro, and other District Magistrates, have always had a favorable opinion of this family. The brothers Bábus Iswar Chandra Bose and Panchánan Chandra Bose, received "Certificates of Honor," in recognition of their public spirit in Establishing a School and a Dispensary, at the *Darbar* held at Jessore to commemorate the assumption of the title of Empress of India by our Gracious Queen.

In the Khulná sub-division a number of *parganá*s are enumerated, and the first of them is Khálispúr. It appears as a *mahall* within *Sirkár* Khalifatábád, as well as within *Sirkár* Mahmudábád, in Todar Mall's rent-roll given in the *Ain-i-Akhari*. It is a single estate with an area of 45·03 square miles, or 28,819 acres. It pays the ridiculously low sum of Rs. 58 as revenue *per annum*, and its population is estimated at only 5,875 souls.

Belpulí the next *parganá* named, is mentioned in the rent-roll of Todar Mall as one of the *mahalls* appertaining to *Sirkár* Fathábád, and it has an area of 86·95 square miles or 55,651 acres, is divided into eight estates, possesses a population of 13,005 souls, and produces a revenue of Rs. 1,189 yearly. The greater portion of this *parganá* is owned by the Datta Chundhuris of Nimtála, in Calcutta. The other principal owners are the Prasad Ráys, who live in Bhawánpúr, in the suburbs of Calcutta, and the Ramnagar Ghosha Bábus.

Hoglá is a very large and most ancient *parganá*, formerly com-

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prised within the *Sirkár* of Khalifatchád, and situate exclusively on the north, or right-bank side of the Bhairab river. It derives its name from a species of bulrush, commonly called elephant grass, the vernacular designation of which is *Hoglá*, and its scientific, or botanical appellation is *Typha elephantina*, Roxburgh. The area of the *parganá* is 125.96 square miles, or 80,617 acres: it is broken up into 86 estates; its aggregate annual revenue is Rs. 30,481, and its population 27,420 souls. The *parganá* is divided into four shares, of which the elder branch of the Prasad family own 5 annas, or $\frac{1}{4}$ ths, the young branch 3 annas, or $\frac{3}{4}$ ths,* the Rámnagar Ghoshas 4 annas, or $\frac{1}{4}$ ths, and the remaining 4 annas, or $\frac{1}{4}$ ths, belong to Messieurs Rainey of Khulná.

The last is known as the *Siki Zamindári*, which Mr. Westland says, was acquired by (the late) Mr. Rainey for the purpose of growing Indigo, and that he lived at Nehálpúr. Neither of these statements are at all correct, and as in another part of the Report Mr. Westland repeats them, referring to the establishment of the sub-division of Khulná, it is as well to correct them here, and state the actual facts.

At the permanent settlement the *Siki Zamindári* was settled with an ancestor of Rájá Ghosál of Bhui-Koylash, Kidderpúr, in the suburbs of Calcutta and was purchased from him by the late Mr. Edward Stronach Cameron, in 1807. On his death in 1826, he was succeeded by his daughter, Miss Cameron, who in 1833 married Captain William Henry Sneyd Rainey, of Her Majesty's 3rd Regiment of Foot, or Buffs, and he retiring from the Army some time afterwards, they settled at Khulná Proper, and not Nehálpúr,—a village a couple of miles away from it, and he set up various Indigo and Sugar factories. Being about the first independent European who settled in that part of the country, he was not regarded with favour by the people round about, and met with opposition from all quarters; and disputes arising, the sub-division of Khulná had to be created. Whether Mr. Rainey was an aggressor in these disputes or not, will be best known from the following extract of a letter which appeared in the *Englishman* newspaper, of the 9th July 1860, from Mr. J. Budd Rainey, the eldest surviving son of the late Mr. W. H. S. Rainey.

“Mr. Rainey being almost the first European who settled in this locality, he was naturally regarded as an innovator, and one day happening to order the letters which Sibnáth Ghosh had ph-

* Mr. Westland is therefore wrong in stating that each holds four annas share of the *parganá*. We may also add that they at no time possessed the whole of the *parganá*.

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"on a certain *Guru* to be cut off, (as he was quite ignorant of the habits of the natives, having only a short time before retired from the army); he, Sibnáth, became so enraged with this interference that he on one occasion attempted to take the life of my father, notwithstanding which he even interceded for him afterwards; nevertheless Sibnáth's guilt was so palpable, that Mr. Metcalfe—the Magistrate—"could not help sentencing him to six months' imprisonment. Besides this, on my father taking up the cause of one Debi Ghosh, a cousin of Sibnáth, whom he had dispossessed of two and a half *annas* share of some landed property, fresh disputes commenced, which eventually led to serious affrays, and the sub-division having been established in the meanwhile, Mr. Shaw, C. S., the Joint Magistrate, at present Judge of Sylhet, was, with his brother, Lieut. Shaw and others, arraigned before the Bar of the Supreme Court, in a case instituted by this identical man, for aiding and abetting my father."

We need hardly add that the case was dismissed as being proved to be thoroughly false, and further comment is superfluous.

The Prasád Rai family originally came from the North-Western Provinces, and we believe in matters of inheritance and succession they are governed by the *Mitakshari* Law.

The first of the Ramnagar Ghosh family who settled in this District, was Krishná Dulál Ghosha, who migrated from Bardawán, where they still possess a little property, and was for some time *Diwan* of the Collectorate. He was thus able to acquire considerable wealth, and he purchased in the name of his son, Rádhámohan, four *ánds* share of Hoglá, and the like share of Belpulí. His sons and their children now share the property, but as disputes arose among them about their respective shares, and several affrays occurred, Government attached it, and placed a Native Manager in charge.

Two other extensive *parganás* are mentioned together as comprised within Khulná, namely. Sáhas and Sobná. Both of them appear in Todar Mall's rent-roll, as important *mahalls* appertaining to *Sirkár* Khalifatábád: the latter is there described as "Tappá Sobná, on the Bhadrapiñér." They belong for the most part to the Rájá of Jessore and the Muhammadan Trust Estate. Sobná is stated by Mr. Westland to be "within the geographical limits of Sáhas," which has an area of 86·00 square miles, or 55,041 acres: it is broken up into 17 estates, and has a population of 8,244 souls, and the revenue contributed by it is Rs. 8,506 *per annum*.

Besides the above, a couple more *parganás* are specified as belonging to the Khulná sub-division, and they are Rámchandrapúr and Maláí, which were formerly owned by the Rájá of Jessore; They are held, respectively, by the Táki and Sátkhirá families,

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residing within the district of the twenty-four *parganas*. Mr. Westland mentions nothing of the former family, but states of the latter that, they are descended from Bishnaráin Ráy, (an old name of a servant of the Krishnagar Rájá,) and, whose son, Páin Chaudhuri, succeeded him. He, we may add, died some time ago, and we believe the property is now in charge of the Court of Wards. Of the Táki family Dr. Hunter is also silent in his "Statistical Account of the Twenty-four Parganá."

Rámchandrapúr comprises an area of 80·32 square miles, or 51,404 acres; is divided into 19 estates, supporting a population 24,950 souls, and giving an annual revenue of Rs. 19,739.

The area of Malái is larger again, being 128·10 square miles, or 82,040 acres: it is portioned out into 37 estates, and yields an absolutely large revenue yearly,—Rs. 28,278, with a population of only 17,930 souls.

Bágherhát sub-division comprises several considerable *parganá*s, and of those mentioned the first is Sultánpúr-Khararia, which has the immense area of 110·21 square miles, or 70,533 acres, and is divided into no less than 70 estates. Its revenue aggregates as much as Rs. 14,408 a year, and its population amounts to but 20,780 souls. Portions of this *parganá*, probably not included in the above area, fall within the adjoining district of Faridpúr. The Datta family of Nimtálá, in Calcutta, are the owners of this *parganá*, and they are descendants of Kásmáth Datta, who acquired the property in 1774, by discharging the arrears due to Government by the former Zamindárs.

Parganá Chiruliá, which is next named, has an area of 260·87 square miles, or 17,201 acres; is divided into only 7 estates, pays an annual revenue of Rs. 18,540, and has a population of 4,555 souls. It belongs to the Gobrádángá family before noticed. It was one of the principal *máhall*s within *Sirkár* Khalifatábád, according to Todar Mall's rent-roll.

Then *parganá* Rangdia is noticed; and it was also an important *mahall* included in *Sirkár* Khalifatábád, we find from Todar Mall's rent-roll given in the *Ain*.

It is said to belong to the descendants of Dulak Sarkár, who acquired wealth as an inferior servant in the Government elephants' godowns in Calcutta, and who is reputed to have been a miser. Its area is stated to be 25·24 square miles, or 16,158 acres, and it is divided into only 5 estates. The yield of revenue is Rs. 8,346 *per annum*, and the population 6,505 souls.

The important *parganá* of Salimábád is of course mentioned, and its correct designation is, we must state, Sulaimánábád, being named after Sulaimán Shah, son of Sher Shah, who ruled Bengal with singular ability from A. D. 1556 to 1573, according to Stewart. This *parganá* is credited with an area of 13·98 square

mla., or 8,955 acres, and a population of 6,000 souls. It has 17 estates comprised within it, and yields a revenue of 4,986 Rs. *per annum*. The major portion of Sulaimánábád runs into Baqirganj District, and cannot therefore be included in the above figures. It belongs to the Deb family, residing in Bâqirganj, (who are said to have originally owned the whole of it,) and the Ghosal family of Bhui Koylâsh. They have now we believe, equal shares; and an ancestor of the latter, it is said in the Report, received it as a bribe from one of the predecessors of the former, for interceding for him with the Nawâb of Dhákâ. We do not think this is at all correct; and we believe the Ghosál family acquired wealth and position, not from one of their ancestors having been the right-hand man of Mr. Verelst, as represented by Mr. Westland, but from an ancestor of theirs, named Gokul Ghosál, who was *Diwân* of Warren Hastings, and after whom the large *Bazâr* in Kidderpúr is called.

Mr. Westland concludes this chapter by giving some particulars of Sundarban *Tâluqs*. These are we conceive, nought else than *Jungle-buri* holdings, which are peculiar tenures; they generally signify permanent leases at a fixed rate of rent, and to be assessed according to the quantity of land actually brought under cultivation within a given area. *Vide* numerous precedents of High the Court, cited in Bell's "Law of Landlord and Tenant," 1874, p. 47.

The Report states that the Messrs. Morrell are the chief Sundarban *Tâluqdárs*; but as they obtained their holdings direct from the Government, under the old Waste Land Rules, they ought rather to be called, we think, Sundarban Grantees, which is the designation invariably given to this class of landholders.

The writer of the Report devotes a whole chapter, of some 4½ pages, to chronicle the history of the Naráil family; but we think it only necessary to state that they are descendants from one Madan Gopál Datta, who came to Naráil from Murshidábád, and who was admittedly in indigent circumstances. His son was Rámgovind, whose son Rupráñ became a *vakil* for the Nátor Rájá in the city of Murshidábád, and obtained the lease from him of a little land at Naráil. The achievements in arms of his son, Kalisankar, and the mode in which he acquired property have been stated before; therefore suffice to say that he was succeeded by his sons, Rámnaráin and Jayanaráin. The sons of the former were Rátnratán, Harnáth, and Rádhácharan. The first was a remarkably able man, and greatly improved the property; and his two sons, Chandra Kumár and Kálináth, with the three sons of the other two brothers, and the two sons of Omesh, son of Harnáth, who are minors, now compose the elder branch of the family. The younger branch is now represented by Govinda, son of

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Gurudda, another remarkably able man in his own right, whose father was Jaináráia aforesaid. A very heavy tax at many lakhs of Rupees, which had been carried on for over a quarter of a century by these two rival branches of the family, has lately been compromised. One-sixth of their property, belonging to the minors, is under charge of the Court of Wards. The elder branch conjointly support a large charitable Hospital, and a successful school; and for these enlightened acts of theirs, one of their number, Bábu Pulin Cháandra Ráy, younger son of the late Kádhá Charah, received a "Certificate of Honor," at the Durbar held at Jessore on the 1st of January last. The younger branch does not appear to have evinced any public spirit in any way.

"Agriculture and Commerce" take up nearly thirty-two pages, and is divided into five chapters, which we shall deal with *seriatim*.

"Sugar Cultivation and Manufacture" is treated of at some length, and the account is very interesting indeed, but we need only refer to the salient points mentioned in the Report, and comment on them. The manufacture of, and trade in sugar, dates from the last century, but it is only within the last score of years that they have assumed anything like the dimensions they now

Mr. Westland is rather in error, we are inclined to think, in stating that, the first European Sugar Factory in this country was established at Dhobá, in Bardwán, by Mr. Blake. We learn from an article in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VI, p. 421 written by the Revd. J. Long, that in 1792, the Hon'ble the East India Company's Sugar Factory at Sántipúr supplied 14 000 mds. of produce for shipment abroad. And, in Royle's *Productive Resources of India*, London, 1840, p. 92, and Roxburgh's *Flora Indica*, Clarke's Edition, 1874, p. 81, we find that Mr. R. Cardew was in 1801, Superintendent of the, Company's Rum and Sugar Factories, at Mirzápúr, near Kalná in Bardwán. This gentleman reported of the China sugar-cane (introduced in India in 1796, and considered by Roxburgh a new species, and named by him *Saccharum Sinensis*.) that it yielded double the produce of the common Bengal sugar-cane, and that "neither the white ants nor the jackals committed any depredations on it." We may add that the common Bengal sugar-cane is *Saccharum officinarum* of Linnaeus, and one of its vernacular designations, Ikahu, is supposed by some to have given its name to the Ikshumati, or Ichhamati, on the banks of which river the plant was largely cultivated, in the twenty-four Pargana District.

The Dhobá-Sugar-Factory was established, we believe, some time in the early part of the present century, subsequent to the

East India Company's Sugar Factory, referred to in the preceding paragraph, and was due to the enterprise of Mr. Blake; and Colonel Sleeman proposed to the Agricultural Society, to award that gentleman a gold medal, "for ~~advancing~~ *the manufacture of Sugar in India.*" He disposed of his several sugar factories to a Joint Stock Co. for Rs. 450,000, and they produced 800 mds. of sugar in 1836. The company had in Jessore, besides the two factories mentioned by Mr. Westland, Trimohini and Kotchandpur, another one, namely Keshabpūr; and they at one time, in 1846, employed a large establishment, composed of four Europeans and two hundred and fifty natives.

The eventual failure of the European Factories was mainly owing, in our opinion, to their being unable to work so cheap as the native sugar refineries, and we are inclined to think that the natives at that time had a strong prejudice against eating sugar clarified with animal charcoal, and therefore there was little demand for it from them *

Almost all the sugar that is now manufactured in this District is produced from juice of what Botanists designate the wild date tree (*Phoenix Sylvestris*, Roeb.) and not the true, or Arabian date (*P. dactylifera*, Willd.,) as by a curious mistake it is stated to be by a writer in the "Statistical Reporter," vol. I, p. 138. The tree should not be tapped before its seventh year, and it yields juice continuously every season for more than a score of years: the number of notches it has on either side indicates the number of years it has been cut, and *plus* the years it had not been cut at the commencement, shows its exact age. Mr. Westland gives full details of the different processes of manufacture, but we need only here, we think, give the barest outlines of the mode in which sugar is usually manufactured from the saccharine sap of the date.

A month or so before the cold season sets in, the lowest leaves of the tree with their sheaths are cut away; and, sometime afterwards an incision is made on the top into the pith, and a grooved peg, made from the leaf of the Palmyra, is there inserted, which drains the juice flowing from the tree into an earthen vessel suspended below. The juice is gathered early next morning, and boiled down to raw sugar, called *gur*. It is afterwards refined, by being re-boiled with the leaves of a certain aquatic plant, named by the natives *shyā*, which grows only in fresh water, and is designated by Willdenow, *Valisneria octandra*.
The greatest quantity of sugar is manufactured at Keshabpūr,

* This prejudice evidently still prevails, for we read in the "Statistical Reporter," vol. I p. 138: "The refined sugar of Kotchandpur is said

to be specially acceptable to Hindus from the fact that animal charcoal is not used in the process of refining."

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and it is also the largest mart in the District. We glean from the "Statistical Reporter," vol. I, p. 123, that whilst in 1853-54 the amount of sugar manufactured there was only 22,200, and nine years afterwards, or in 1874-75, it rose very nearly ten-fold, or as high as 2,56,475 mds. As regards the exports from the same source, that in 1874-75, mds. 1,12,000 of sugar were exported to Calcutta, and its local sales amounted to mds. 82,523. The value of sugar, as well as of molasses, which latter is not included in the above figures, amounted in that year we are told, in the aggregate to exactly Rs. 25,04,220.

The interchange of commodities between Baghganj and Jessore is clearly pointed out. The former sends rice, and receives in exchange sugar. The largest mart for sugar is Basantia, on the Bhairab, in the Jessore District, and the largest mart for rice is Natchiti, in the Baghganj District. Of course the sugar trade is, as Mr. Westland states, "a great source of wealth to the District," and we may point out that it proves remunerative to no limited class, for it benefits alike the agriculturists, who plant the trees and prepare the raw material, the petty traders, who sell it to the refiners, who turn it into sugar, and dispose of it to the wealthy *mahajans*, or merchants, who export it to Calcutta; and all these classes reap their share of profit from it. It also indirectly benefits the landholders, who get a better price for their lands planted with date trees.

The following chapter of ten pages discusses the Rice Trade and questions relating to Sunderban Reclamation together, but we shall deal with them separately, as this arrangement will be more convenient both for us and the reader. And in noticing the former, we shall also have occasion to refer to the next chapter, which exclusively treats of the Rice Trade.

Jessore, with its immense *Bil* or marshes to the north, and its rich low lands to the south, comprising the cultivated portion of the Sunderban, is emphatically a rice-growing District, and a large quantity of this grain is annually exported thence to the denary for shipment to other Indian ports.* The rice is a highly remunerative one, and that it does not conduce to the wealth of the cultivators as it ought, we shall here have opportunity of explaining shortly, more so as we do not elsewhere refer to in the Report under consideration, or anywhere else to our knowledge. The cultivators have to trust, as a rule, in a great measure, to borrowed capital, with which they

* Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, in his article in the *Calcutta Review*, vol. LVIII, p. 272, says: "It will be seen that the proportion of rice that leaves for Indian ports is enormous. — and amounts annually to between 1,50,000 to 2,00,000 tons."

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discharge their instalments of rents as they become due, and support themselves, and for which they have to pay interests to the extortionate *Mahájans*, or money-lenders, varying from 50% to 75% *per annum*. So that if a husbandman needs, for himself and family, say Rs. 72 a year, to support them, and to liquidate his rents, say Rs. 12 more, or in all Rs. 84, he has to get the loan of at least a moiety of that sum, Rs. 42, on which he is required to pay interest not less than Rs. 21, and this sum he must make over and above his out-goings, to be simply in a solvent condition. The land must be prolific indeed if it can support the husbandman and his family, and leave a surplus, after discharging the rents, etc., of as much as 25%, but it cannot be expected to do more under the most favorable conditions. Hence, taking good and bad seasons together, the cultivator is always in a chronic state of indebtedness; and the *Mahájans* actually reap the profit of the lands, and fatten on it, whilst the cultivators are loaded with debt, from which they can hardly ever expect to free themselves.

Mr. Westland states that, much rice is imported from the adjoining District of *Báqirganj*, to supply the wants of the riceless regions of *Jessore*, but this is not, we must point out, because the quantity grown within this District is insufficient to meet all the local demands: it is simply owing to the fact that rice is obtained more cheaply from *Báqirganj*, and it pays the *Jessore* dealers better to send their commodity to *Calcutta*, than dispose of it within the limits of the District itself, where the prices are rarely high.

The three principal crops of rice grown are the *Boro*, in the *Bils*, or marshes, sown on dry land in winter, and reaped in March, or April; the *Aman*, sown mostly in the Southern parts on low land in the rainy season, and reaped in the cold weather, from December to January; the *Aus*, sown on comparatively high land, especially in the northern parts, in spring, and reaped in autumn, as its specific vernacular designation signifies. Extraordinary high inundations will damage the first and second, and cyclones accompanied with storm-waves, especially if composed of brackish water, almost irrefrievably destroy the first. Drought will absolutely ruin the second, and the last.

Rice is known to the natives under different names in its different conditions, and they will be found enumerated at length in Dr. W. W. Hunter's "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. II., p. 243: we need not repeat them here.

The statistics of the out-turn of rice and other crops, as given by Westland, and those furnished to Dr. Hunter by the Collector of *Jessore*, (Mr. A. Smith,) vary considerably, and we cannot pretend to reconcile them. In fact the uncertainty on this head is common throughout the country. It is impossible for us to give

absolutely accurate figures on this point, and rather than supply mere hap-hazard ones, we prefer to furnish none.

It may interest the reader to know that, as regards the proportion of husk and grain in various kinds of paddy, or unhusked rice, the result of investigations recorded in the *Statistical Reporter*, vol. I., p. 136, shows that, the average quantity of the former is 4ths, and the latter 19ths.

We have now to consider the narrative given in the Report about Sundarban reclamation; and we shall for convenience sake first deal with the questions regarding what we may, we think, be permitted to term, the past state of the Sundarban. We shall also here consider Mr. H. Beveridge's valuable paper in Jour. As. Soc. B., vol. LXV., entitled, "Were the Sundarbans inhabited in ancient times?"

The designation, Sundarban, is now generally admitted to signify the "*Sundri Forest*," though various more or less fanciful etymologies have been suggested by different persons, vide Jour. As. Soc., B., vol. LXII., p. 226. If it always bore this name, then there would be good reason for assuming that it could never have been cultivated, or inhabited. But, Mr. Blochmann has discovered that, "Muhammadian historians call the coast strip from the Húglí to the Megná *Bhāti*, or low land, subject to the influx of the tide;" so its former designation rather tends to prove that it was not always a forest.

Dr. T. Oldham has most fully and clearly pointed out, (Proc. As. Soc., B., 1870, pp. 46 to 51,) that well known physical changes, the shifting of the southern course of the Ganges from the west to the east, and its junction with the Brahmaputra, have caused the rivers in the western tract of the Sundarban to become brackish, which *per se* is sufficient to account for its present state of utter desolation: for—to quote the *ipseissima verba* of the learned Doctor—"the very first necessity for the existence of man is the presence of sweet drinking water, and where this cannot be provided, it is certain that man can make no settlement." This goes to show that the western Sundarbans were inhabited, when the conditions there were different from what we now find them, and similar to what the eastern Sundarbans are at present, where the lands are well cultivated, and rather thickly populated, down to the sea board. Thus, we venture to think, we satisfactorily prove the existence of population in the western Sundarban in ancient times on a broad and sound basis, and altogether independent of the existence of numerous ruins, which may or may not date subsequent to the occurrences of the physical changes referred to above, and to the incursions of the Mughls and Portuguese, which are known to have taken place thereafter.

Mr. Beveridge endeavours in his article mentioned above, and

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which, we believe forms, at least the substance of one of the chapters in his recently published work on the Bâqirganj District, to prove that the Sundarbans could not have been populated in ancient times, and attempts to establish the identity of Chandecan not with Jessore-Iswaripûr, as stated by mistake in the P. S. affixed to our first paper, but with Dhumghât.

As regards the first part of Mr. Beveridge's contention, he, unfortunately for himself, quotes Ralph Fitch, who travelled in this country in A. D. 1586; for that traveller testifies to the tract of country, now designated the Sunderbun, as being great and fruitful, the houses being very firm and high built, the streets being large, &c. And, the fact of the people going about in a semi-nude state, with only "a little cloth about their waist," a scanty garb in every way suited to the tropical climate, and still in vogue in some of the out-of-the-way Districts in Bengal, will not show that the people were only a little civilized, and far less that the Sundarbans were uninhabited, for that is after all the gist of what Mr. Beveridge wishes to establish, as the title of his paper clearly sets forth. Such arguments as these are not calculated to prove the non-existence of inhabitants in the Sundarban, and we need say nothing further on this head.

Nor is Mr. Beveridge more fortunate, we think, in what he advances regarding the identity of Chandican, or Ciandecan, with Dhumghât. Mr. Beveridge conjectures that Khân Jahân Ali's descendant was one Chând Khân—we may state, *en passant*, that we are nowhere informed that Khan Jahân left any descendants,—and the property acquired by Pratâpâditya's father, Vikramâditya, from the last of the so-called independent kings of Bengal, Daud Khân, belonged to Chând Khan,* and was named after him. It is necessary to state that, the city established by Vikramâditya was called Jasar, or Yashahara, but his son, Pratâpâditya, removed the capital some distance away from it, about a dozen miles, to Dhumghat, where he built another city; so that if the alleged olden name, Chând Khân, or Chandecan,† adhered to either of the above two places, it would certainly cling to the former, and not to the latter, as Mr. Beveridge, we believe, erroneously supposes. This, and other discrepancies and inaccuracies, were pointed out to us in a letter from a gentleman, who

* It is undoubtedly a well-known historical fact that, the grant belonged to one Chând Khân, but its then name, as far as we are aware, is nowhere specified.

† It is just possible that Chandecan is identical with Chandiswar on the

Haringhâta river, close to, almost adjoining Tiger Point, where we are told, some ruins exist. We have not enquired into this point at all, and simply throw it out as a suggestion; others can follow it up if they care to do so.

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has an intimate knowledge of the locality and subject, and whose name we do not consider ourselves at liberty to divulge. We should here point out that, a little below Jessore, Jawaripat, is a clearance, marked on the Government Survey Map as "Chand-khāli Chuck," and so if the former (Muhammadan) owner gave his name to any spot, it is probably to this place, and we would fain draw the attention of those interested in the subject to it, with the view of elucidating the point, if possible.

Mr. Beveridge's paper is, we should add, well worth reading, and contains much useful information: the extracts from the letters of the Jesuit priests, Fathers Fernandez, Josa, &c, given in it, contain very interesting and curious matter.

The depredation committed by tigers is prominently noticed, and from our personal knowledge, derived when Manager of the Jessore Sundarban Forests for the "Port Canning Co.," we are able to state, that the number of deaths is exceedingly large among wood-cutters, &c., especially those who go there to cut that thatching leaf known to the natives as *gol-pātā*, the so-called nipa palm (*Nipa fruticosa*, Willd.), which grows on the margin of the rivers and *khāls*. And a single tiger when it turns, what sportsmen expressively term, a "man-eater," does commit a vast deal of havoc, as it loses all fear of man, and discovers his insignificant strength. One of these tigers was, we are informed by Mr. Westland, mortally wounded by Mr. Morrell, whilst he was securely ensconced within the precincts of an iron cage.

The *Buālis*, or professional wood-cutters, have a regular system of operation; and as it is rather curious in some respects it will, we fancy, interest our readers. They invariably proceed to a temporary location of a *Fākir* in the Sundarban, termed *Sāi*, to whom they give a small sum of money, varying according to the reputation he has gained for protecting them from tigers, etc., which he is supposed to be able to do through the kind interposition of the sylvan spirits, who are propitiated by sacrifice and prayer. The *Fākir* is also expected to be able to point out to them the best description of timber, and as he is generally an old wood-cutter himself, he is not deficient in wood-craft. Any one day in the week is a day of rest, especially set apart for the worship of the local deities. Their images, made of mud and paint, are kept within small huts, and they are also regularly worshipped every morning by the wood-cutters and the *Fākir* before proceeding to their work. If the timber is either inferior or scanty and a single man is carried off by a tiger, the location is abandoned at once, especially if the wood-cutters have brought with them a special *Fākir*, which is sometimes the case; but, if the timber is both good and plentiful, the *Sāi* will not break up until many men are taken away, in fact till it becomes absolutely untenable.

These *Fakirs*, who are all arrant impostors, usually make a good thing of it, and they are tempted to follow this precarious mode of life, for such in reality it is, from sheer love of gain. Once a woman to our knowledge set up a *Sái*, accompanied by a so-called disciple and a couple of goats, and it for some time had a great run; but she afterwards had her two goats killed by tigers, and eventually her *Chelá*, or disciple, when she prudently decamped at once. The wood-cutters have, undoubtedly, a hard life of it; and none proceed there from choice, as the saying common among them shows:—

তাহার নাহি বণ,
সে বার সন্দর বণ।

Which being freely translated, to preserve the rhyme, runs thus :

"He who (unfortunately) lacks pelf,
To the Suandarban transports himself."

We should in this place, we think, enumerate the large game of the Sundarban; and as we have described them at some length in various Nos. of the *Oriental Sporting Magazine*, New Series, under the *nom de plume* of *Young Nimrod*, it may interest the reader to know where such accounts are to be found, so we shall quote the volume and page of the periodical within brackets after their respective names. Thus, we shall give the common, or vulgar English names first, then the vernacular designations in inverted commas, and lastly the scientific appellations in italics, followed by the names of the zoologists who have bestowed them, and (within brackets) the volume and page of the *O. S. M.* in which we have described the animals :

1. Tiger "Bará Bágh," *Felis tigris*, Linn. (V, 511).
2. Leopard "Bagh," *F. Leopardus*, Linn, Kenduya. (VI, 19).*
3. Large Tiger-cat, "Bágh-dásá," *F. celtogaster*, Temminck, Gray. (VI, 78).
4. Wild, or Leopard-cat, "Ban-birá," *F. Bengalensis*, Desmantius. (VI, 118).
5. Rhinoceros, "Ganra," *Rh. Sondaicus*, Müller. (V, 300).
6. Wild Buffalo, "Ban Mahia," *Bubalus arvi*, Jerdon. (IX, 267, Heads illustrated).
7. Wild Pig, "Ban Suar," *Sus Indicus*, Schinz; (IX, 337).

* Naturalists do not consider the greater size,—the head especially 'panther' and 'leopard' to be distinct species, and they therefore designate both as above stated, *F. Leopardus*, Linn. But some sportsmen, such as Walter Elliot, Mountaineer (Wilson), separate them. They describe the 'panther' to be of larger size,—the head especially larger, the color of the coat less dark, and in its habits more retiring, fierce, and wary than that of, what they reckon to be, the true leopard. The variety found in Lower Bengal would, according to them, be the 'panther.'

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8. Swamp Deer, "Nal-Baniyá Harin," *Cervus Duvaucelli* Cuvier, (II, 226, Illustrated.)
9. Spotted Deer, "Chitá Harin," *Cervus axis*, Earl. (II, 321. Illustrated.)
10. Hog Deer, "Chagal Harin," *Cervus porcinus*, Blyth. (II 368);
11. Barking Deer, "Ghágas," *Cervulus aureus*, Ham. Smith (II, 484).
12. Crocodiles, two species, "Kumir," *Crocodilus porosus*, Schneid, et *C. palustris* Less.
13. Monitor Lizard, "Go-Sánp," *Varanus dracena*, Linn.
14. Gigantic Water-Lizard, also "Go-Sánp," *Hydrosaurus giganteus*, Gray.
15. Indian Python, "Bárá Sánp," *Python molurus*, Linn.
16. Common Bengal Monkey, "Bandar," *Macacus erythræus*, Schreb.

The last five are additions to the list. And of the *Avi-Fauna*, we have described those which may be reckoned "legitimate food for powder," in various Nos. of the *Oriental Sporting Magazine*, New Series, vols. II, to V, under the title of "The Game Birds of the Sundarban," *quod vide*. We may add that the following conspicuous birds breed in the Sundarban :

1. Pallas's Sea Eagle, "Kurál," *Haliaeetus Leucoryphus*, Pallas.
2. Black, or King vulture, "Ráj Ságan," *Vultur calvus*, Scopoli.
3. Common vulture, "Sagan," *Gyps Bengálensis*, Gmelin.
4. Gigantic Stork, "Hargila," *Leptoptilos argala*, Linn.
5. Hair-crested Stork, "Madan-tiki," *L. Javanica*, Horsfield.
6. Alexandrine Paraquet, "Chandana," *Paleornis Alexandri*, Linn.
7. Large Racket-tailed Drongo, "Bhinráj," *Edolius paradiseus*, Linn.

To return to the Report. The Steamer and Boat routes via the Sundarban differ, as the former passes along the larger rivers running through the densely jungly and uncultivated tracts, whilst the latter passes by the smaller rivers running through the cultivated parts, and has a regular towing path all the way from Calcutta to Khulná, a distance of 115 miles, and thence to Fákirbát, in the Bágherhat sub-division, *en route* to Báqirganj. Large heavily laden boats have to take, however, a more southerly and dangerous route, owing to some of the canals in the regular boat route having insufficient water to float them.

The penultimate chapter of part three, comprising a little more than four pages, describes the several Sundarban industries, the chief of which is the Wood Trade.

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It would appear that, in the early times, when Mr. Henckell ruled the district, the Forest Revenue realized by the Government, amounted to Rs. 5,000 : *vide* p. 11 of the Report; but we are not informed *when* and *why* it ceased to be collected; for long previous to the *Bankar*, or Forest rights of the Sundarban, being leased to the "Port Canning Co.," the Government derived no pecuniary benefit from their vast unappropriated Forests, and all were permitted to fell and remove timber, etc., without let or hinderance. The aforesaid Co. had it on a lease for, we believe, five years; and after encountering much opposition from *Fákirs* and Wood-cutters, oft-times aided by the Police, they were able to realize a fair amount of profit.* But the Government, apparently surprised at the extent of their realizations, raised all the impediments they could in their way, and on some pretext cancelled the lease granted before the expiration of the quinquennial period. It was alleged that there was a great deal of oppression practised by the native subordinates of the Co. in the interior, countenanced by their European superiors,† and that the tariff of the Co. was oppressive in the extreme. The then Lieutenant Governor, Sir William Grey, was at least consistent in his action when he refused to re-establish the *Bankar* Department under Government Management, on the ground that it was simply impossible to prevent the underlings from oppressing the Wood-cutters, and he would not "*legalize oppression*." A change in the *personnel* of the local Government, however, caused a change in its policy, and it being hard to forego the immense profit likely to be derived from this new source of Revenue, the Forest Department was inaugurated in the Sundarban late in 1875, and Mr. A. L. Home, Deputy Conservator, placed in charge. To him succeeded Mr. Jacob, Deputy Conservator, then Mr. Davis, Assistant Conservator, and now Mr. Richardson, also Assistant Conservator, who has a large and expensive establishment under him, and the services of a fine small Steamer at his disposal to move about in. Although the tariff, introduced by the Forest Department is higher than that imposed by the "Port Canning Co.," yet Government Reports never breathe a word about its being oppressive, and that notwithstanding the stringent rules in force for confiscating boats found without license in the Sundarban. We may add, that Forest Conservancy is utterly useless in the Sundarban; for planting out trees is wholly

* They, however, never realized Rs. 20,000 at Chauki Ohándkhál in any month, as Mr. Westland appears to have been informed.

† When we were in charge of the Jessore Sundarban Forests, we did not

have a single complaint preferred against either us, our European Assistant, or Native Subordinates, but, we had some *Fákirs* and Wood-cutters imprisoned for trespass.

unnecessary ; and realizing the Forest dues and preventing Sundri trees under a certain girth from being felled for wood-outlets, is all the work imposed upon this Scientific Department, as it is called. And on this point, we shall state what Mr. Home very candidly reported, as quoted by Dr. Hunter in his "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. I., p. 311.

"I do not believe that any special measures are necessary to insure a full and regular supply"—of wood—"for the future."

In the "Statistical Reporter," vol. I, there is a list of thirty of the "Trees and Shrubs in the Sundarban," with—for the most part—their botanical designations ; and in the "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. I, we are also furnished with a succinct account of "thirty principal kinds of timber found in Sundarban" with their botanical names too, in all except a few instances. For these botanical names given by Dr. Hunter, he states : "I trust entirely to the scientific accuracy of Mr. Home, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Bengal ;" but, we should like to know to whom the latter gentleman is indebted for his information on this head, for we are not aware that he professes to be aught of a competent Botanist. We do not think it necessary to give any enlarged and revised list of trees here, especially as our present paper has already grown to great length ; but we ought, we think, to notice certain errors that have somehow crept into the list given by Dr. Hunter. *Balai* and *Bhaila* described as different trees, (Nos. 3 and 4,) are in reality merely different names for one and the same tree, which, according to Roxburgh, is not *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, but *H. tortuosus* ; though the dimensions of the tree, and its average length of timber, as given by the Deputy Conservator of Forests and the Sundarban Commissioner vary considerably, being according to the former, 6 inches, and 6 feet, respectively, and according to the latter, 22 feet, and 12 feet, respectively. The latter are, we think, the more trustworthy figures of the two, as the tree is undoubtedly a large one.* A precisely similar awkward mistake is made with regard to *Cynometra bijuga*, which is described as two separate trees, (Nos. 26 and 27,) that it is to say, as *Singra*—its correct name—as stated by the Sundarban Commissioner, and then as *Sinj*, as stated by the Deputy Conservator. These errors appear to have arisen from Dr. Hunter not having given the botanical nomenclature of the trees mentioned by the Sundarban Commissioner.

With regard to the timber tree *par excellence* of the Sundarban, the *Sundri*, we note that both the writers in the "Statistical Reporter," and the "Statistical Account of Bengal," noticed in the preceding paragraph, mention only a single species, namely *Heritiera littoralis* (of Willdenow), which is, we believe, rare in

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the Sundarban, but common in Burmah;* whilst the other species, *Heritiera minor* (Lamareck,) which is common in the Sundarban, and rare in Burmah, is omitted altogether. This is rather a glaring omission in both lists, and we have thought it necessary to point it out, more so as it appears to be an error commonly made by different writers on the Sundarban. As *H. minor* is the most important tree of these Forests, we think a few interesting and useful particulars regarding it,* taken from a work on "Indian and Burmah Timber," will not be out of place here. We there find it stated of this wood that, its specific gravity is 1.024; weight of a cubic foot of unseasoned and seasoned wood, 80lbs, and 64lbs, respectively; and that it is strong, fibrous and flexible, tolerably "close grained, not very durable, of a light red color, turning to a reddish brown, and not easily marked." As regards its alleged lack of durability, we think it would be worth while trying the experiment of preserving the wood with salts of copper and ammonia, as recommended by M. Rottier to the *Académie Royal de Belgique*, for most of the boats in the Gangetic Delta are built of *sundri* planks.†

The last tree noted down by Dr. Hunter, is the *Uriya A'm*, "as reported on by the" (Sundarban) "Commissioner," and as usual in such cases, its botanical name is not specified: it is, as far as we are able to judge from its native name, *Mangofera oppositifolia* of Roxburgh, and it is a rather close-grained and durable timber, in great request by native carpenters.

The timber trade of the Sundarban is, and has always been, a lucrative one, we believe. The first regular notice of it, at least to our knowledge, is that given in the Revd. J. Long's "Selections from the Records of the Government of India," vol. 1, when Warren Hastings was engaged in it, in A. D. 1762, or more than a century ago. It is recorded in that work, p.p 319 and 320, that a formal complaint was lodged against Mr. Hastings' Agents, Messrs. Rose, Kelly and Campbell for "making bad use of Sepoys," and also gives Mr. Hastings' explanation of their conduct.

Another important Subdarban industry, referred to by Mr. Westland, is the cutting of a certain reed known as *Nal* (*Arundo karka*, Willdenow,) for mat making, which gives employment to a rather large class in the district, known as *Naluás*. The

* Vide Mr. Salfour's "Timber Trees of India," Madras, 1862, p.p. 128 and 129, and Roxburgh's *Flora Indica*, Calcutta, 1874, p. 506. We may also mention, as a curious coincidence, that of the two species, of Crocodiles, *C. porosus* is common in

Burmah, and rare in the Sundarban; whilst *C. palustris* is just the reverse. Vide Jour. As. Soc., B. 1868.

† These are rapidly destroyed below Salt water by a species of small destructive animals of the genus *Teredo*.

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inferior sort of mats made of this material are, we may state, called *Darmás*, and the superior kind designated *Malúá*.

A strong and stout species of cane is obtained in the Sundarban called *Bárá*, or *Bágher-Bet* (*Calamus fasciculatus*, Roxb.,) which is used for basket-making, and this also gives employment to a number of people, who belong to the *mochi*, or shoe-maker caste.

Most of the houses in the southern parts of the district are thatched with fronds of the so-called nipa palm, (*Nipa fruticans*, Willd.,) designated in the vernacular *Gol-pátá*, which is only obtained in the Sundarban.

A good deal of shell-lime is manufactured in this district, and walls plastered with it are almost as smooth as marble, and it is also, evidently, very durable. These shells are picked up on the sea-face of the Sundarban, and are of two kinds, the conical and the circular, termed respectively *Jongrá* and *Jhi-nak*.

'Chay' which is one of the ingredients used with the betel leaf, (*Chavica betle*,) by the natives, is manufactured from the ashes of the shell-lime mixed with a sufficient quantity of water to give it the consistency of paste. It is as well to add that the betel plant is largely cultivated in the Jessore District, and proves a source of immense profit to the caste of Hindus engaged in its cultivation, who are called *Baráís*, whilst the betel plantation or garden is named *Baraj*, where the *nal* reed, before mentioned, is used for the plants to trail on, they being creepers, and to protect them above from the sun, as they are unable to stand the scorching rays.

Honey is also obtained in pretty large quantities from the Sundarban; and though it proves a rather lucrative trade to those who gather it, yet few care to pursue it, as the danger of being carried off by tigers is very great indeed. A party of seven, nine, or more men, usually go in a small narrow boat; and as they have to penetrate into the heart of the Forest in single file to search for the hives, and rarely carry fire-arms with them, they fall an easy prey to the cunning of the "savage monarch of the woods," who stealthily follows them, and pounces on one or more of them quite suddenly. In former times, we may add, wax and honey used to be sent from these parts regularly to the Court at Murshidábád; and grants of lands were set apart as compensation to those who procured these articles, and such holdings are to this day known as "*Mum*," or "*Wax mahalls*."

The Sundarban fisheries are very valuable, and were leased by the Government for a time to the "Port Canning Co.," but disputes arose with the fisherman, who contended that they had

a prescriptive right to fish free in these parts, and it was, we believe, decided by one of the Mufassal Courts that, they were so entitled. And the opinion of the then Advocate General Mr. T. Cowie, now Q. C., supporting that judgment, the Government decided to annul the said leases, and the "P. O. Co's." leases were accordingly cancelled. The fishes of the Sundarban are too numerous to mention in this paper, but a few of the principal ones might be noticed, and this we intend to do. The largest and best known to Europeans is the *Cock-up*, or *Bhecti*, (*Lates calcarifer*), a marine, migratory, predacious fish, which regularly ascends the wide streams: it is rather coarse, but not devoid of flavor. One of the smaller kind, and certainly the most delicious eating, is the *Tapasaya-matsaya*, known to us as the mango fish, because it comes in season about the same time as the green mangoes do. That extremely rich fish, but full of bones, *Hilsá* or *shad* (*Clupea palasah*, Ham. Buch.,) is occasionally to be found there, and the *Kharsálá*, or mullet, (*Mugil corula*, Ham. Buch.,) is never absent. The curious climbing perch, or *kai*, (*Anabas scandens*, Daud.,) is there to be seen suspended by its primary dorsal fins to the stem of the mangrove tree (*Rhizophora mucronota*,) and the still more curious mud fish (*Periophthalmus*,) can be observed running up the slimy sloping banks, and disappearing in a hole of its own making.

The Crustacea are plentiful, including the much prized oysters, prawns, shrimps, and the delicious scarlet-coated crab.

Owing to the indiscriminate destruction of the small fry by the use of nets with small meshes, the fish supply has, even the natives admit, fallen off considerably, in this, as in all other Districts; and the advisability of enacting a law to prevent the loss continuing, was lately proposed by us to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. But Mr. Eden decided that, "the matter is one which cannot usefully be dealt with by legislation, as any attempt to enforce such a law as that proposed would involve much danger of oppression, and might lead to greater evils than those which it is intended to remove." This is a candid enough admission, and considering the source from which it emanates, rather significant. The Police evidently, cannot be relied on to do their duty without oppression; and there can be no doubt that this staple food of the people of Bengal will gradually diminish in quantity, and increase in price, until a fish-famine sets in, when it will be too late to apply any remedy of any kind, however heroic. In the report of Dr. Day on the "Fresh Water Fish and Fisheries of India and Burmah," published in 1873, the enactment of a General Fishery Act is strongly advocated.

Water Snakes are numerous too, and we might here state that, whilst all snakes found in sweet water are, as a rule,

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innocuous, those living in brackish water are venomous, as this information may be useful to those who have any thing to do with the latter.

Among the order *Chelonia*, or Turtles, we cannot resist naming the "logger head" to be found on the sea-board (*Chelonia olivacea*, Eschsch.) which *albeit* carnivorous in its habits, is usually mistaken for the herbivorous, or true edible turtle, *Chelonia virgata*, Schweigg). It, however, can be easily distinguished from the latter, as the former has fifteen plates on its back, and the latter two less, thirteen. Mr. W. Theobald Junior, the best authority in India on Reptiles of this country, says, on this head in Journal Asiatic Society, B. 1868: "Few Europeans have any idea but that it is the true edible turtle, and in their innocence glory in soup made from it."

The last trade mentioned by Mr. Westland as carried on in the Sundarban, is wrecking. Strong boats well found and manned proceed before the setting in of the cold weather to the sea side, and pick up pieces of valuable teak timber and other articles strewn on the beach, belonging to unfortunate vessels wrecked in the Bay. These excursions prove some times very remunerative. It used to be formerly clandestinely pursued; and the Police, it is reported, were to be feed not to interfere with these ill-gotten gains, as they were supposed to be unlawful. But some years ago, when, we believe, Mr. Westland was District Magistrate of Jessore, one Prán Hari Dás, a *Vakil* of the Munsif's Court at Khulná was somehow detected in carrying on this illegal trade, as it was thought, and the matter being represented to the Advocate General for his opinion, he stated that the Government officials had no right to interfere. Hence the immunity from interference since then; and the trade, such as it is, is now openly carried on, though we hear that the Native Subordinates of the Forest Department are endeavouring to retard it, for reasons it is needless to specify.

The concluding chapter of this part occupies almost a page, and refers to the "trade in Betel nuts, Cocoanuts, and Pepper."

The Betel nuts are the product of the Areca tree, (*A. catechu*, Linn.) which is cultivated in the south-eastern parts of the District, within the limits of the Khulná and Bágherhat sub-divisions. They are gathered by the people round whose homesteads the trees are grown, and sold to *Bipáris*, or petty traders, who carry them in small boats for sale to the other parts of the District, as well as the adjoining District of the Twenty-four Parganá. The Cocoanut tree (*Coco nucifera*, Linn.) flourishes in the same localities, and the cocoanuts are disposed of in a similar manner.

There only now remains for us to notice, what Mr. Westland terms, "the Pepper Trade;" and he is, no doubt, strictly right

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in so doing, but it is very apt to lead people to think that, he refers to the product of the pepper vine, or black pepper, (*Piper nigrum*, Linn.) rather than to that of, what we in this country are accustomed to call, the common chilly, (*Capsicum frutescens*, Willdenow,) and known to the natives as *Mirohá*. This plant, it appears, is largely cultivated in the sub-division of Chuadángá, in the Nadiyá District, and in those portions of the Jessore District bordering thereon. The produce appears to be brought to Jhanidah in carts, shipped thence to Mágurá in small boats, sold there to the traders from Nalchitti in Báqirganj, who re-ship it in the large boats to that place. The reason for this double shipment is not explained by Mr. Westland; but we believe it to be owing to the fact that the boats that come from Nalchitti are of the larger sort, and the Nabagangá river as far as Jhanidáh is too shallow to permit of these boats returning laden thence in all except, probably, the height of the rainy season. Of course this could be easily obviated by the produce being brought by road down to Mágurá itself, but such a practice would militate against the *dastur*, or "custom," and most natives in the interior are simply the slaves of custom.

In the preceeding paper we have detailed a novel method of manufacturing indigo, recommended by Mr. Boyce in 1788, and we shall now give a brief account of another novel mode of preparing "the blue dye." It consists in obtaining the produce by the *maceration of the dried leaves*; and we quote it in contradistinction to the mode in vogue in this country, which is by the *fermentation of the fresh leaves and stems*. It is taken from Ure's *Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures*, and is given in Doctor Hunter's "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. II., p. 98, where it is stated to be "most advantageous," but no proofs in regard thereto are mentioned:

"The ripe plant being cropped, is dried in the sun during "two days and then threshed, in order to separate the stems "from the leaves. The newly dried leaves must be free from "spots, and friable between the fingers. When kept dry, the "leaves undergo a great change in the course of a few weeks, "their beautiful green tint turning into a pale blue-grey. Pre- "vious to this change the leaves afford no indigo. The process "of extracting the indigo from the dried leaves is as follows:— "The leaves are infused in the steeping vat with six times their "bulk of water, and allowed to macerate for two hours, the "mixture being continually stirred till all the leaves sink. The "fine green liquor is then drawn off into the heater vat, for if it "remained longer in the steeper, some of the indigo would settle "among the leaves and be lost. The process of manufacturing "with dried leaves possesses this advantage, that a provision of

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"plant may be made at the most suitable times, independently of the vicissitudes of the weather, and the indigo may be more uniformly made. Moreover, the fermentation process in the case of the fresh leaves is here superseded by a much shorter period of simple maceration. The process of obtaining the indigo from the *nerium* is almost exactly the same from the dried leaves as in the case of the fresh plant, but hot water is generally applied to the leaves."

Monsieur Michea's chemical process of manufacturing indigo was tried in Jessore during the past season, and is said to have increased the produce about 30%.

A few particulars regarding the cultivation of indigo will not, we think, be inappropriate in this place. There are two distinct crops of indigo sown during the year. One, usually called the October plant, is sown on low land in alluvial soil, as the inundation recedes, whilst the other is sown in spring with the first showers, on high land. The former has to be cut before the plants get submerged by the annual inundation, and the latter somewhat later in the season.

The connection of Europeans with the manufacture of indigo in this country dates from 1770, or thereabouts, over a century at least, when the West Indian Trade in this commodity began to gradually fall off. The first European who appears to have interested himself in this manufacture, in Bengal at least, was, probably a Frenchman, Monsieur Louis Bonnaud, who established an indigo factory somewhere close to the French Settlement of Chandarnagar. It would be most interesting to know if the ruins of this factory still exist. In 1783 the attention of the East Indian Company was drawn to the importance of promoting the manufacture of "the blue dye." And, in 1787, we find the Company granting permission to a Mr. Robert Heaven, to proceed to India to grow indigo, as he had experience of its cultivation in the West Indies.

From Colonel Gastrell's Report, as quoted by Dr. Hunter in "The Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. II., p. 300, we observe that, the average out-turn of indigo for Jessore for a decennial period, from 1849-50 to 1858-59, was only 10,791 mds., = 7,900 cwts., the highest being in 1849-50, when it was 16,818 mds., and the lowest in 1855-56, when it was 6,885 mds. The area under indigo cultivation was estimated by Mr. Westland in 1870, as 54,000 acres, = 84½ square miles, and only a couple of years thereafter it fell, according to Dr. Hunter, to 31,333 acres, = 49 square miles.

Dr. Hunter says: "The price of indigo ranges from £34 10s. 0d. a hundredweight, or Rs. 230 per factory maund of 74lbs. 10oz., which is the rate generally realized by European manufacturers, to £16, 7s. 0d. per hundredweight, or Rs. 109 per

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"factory maund, the average realized for the native-made article." He adds, however: "These are the rates reported by the "Deputy Collector," who is, we believe, Bábu Rám Sankar Sen.

Regarding the average yield of plant per acre, we find it stated by Dr. Hunter, to be thirty-six bundles, which gives about twelve pounds of dye. "In some of the most successful factories, however, the yield is said to be as high as twenty-four pounds of dye per acre."

H. JAMES RAINEY.

KHULNA, }
JESSORE. }

ART. IV.—SCIENCE AND RELIGION. (*Independent Section.*)

- 1.—*History of the Conflict between Religion and Science.* By John William Draper, M.D., LL.D. H. S. King & Co., London.
- 2.—*History of Philosophy from Thales to the Present Time.* By Dr. Friedrich Ueberweg. Translated by Geo. S. Morris, A.M., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan. London. Hodder and Stoughton

RELIGION, it has been affirmed, springs like a perennial fount from the depth of human needs ; the theological systems of each epoch are but the channels through which its waters are directed, and these succeed each other without end, like the river-beds and ocean-beds which at different times have furrowed the surface of our globe. *Untrammelled by the creeds, it should be unshadowed by the superstitions of man. The growth or decadence of special phases of religious thought must thus be studied, not alone in the dogmas of the churches, in the familiar forms to which they have now been moulded, and in which they habitually present themselves to our acceptance ; but, in the history of the times, to which, in each instance, their original inception is found to appertain, and to which it can ordinarily with precision be retraced.

Few who have devoted any attention to historical precedents will, we think, be disposed to refrain from conceding that there are recurring around us, at the present moment, many of those significant signs and portents which have in all historic ages preceded and heralded important changes in religious thought. • Upon every side, whether within or without the Church's pale, will be met a widespread and recognised suspension of belief ; a modification, in many cases perhaps an entire abandonment, of hitherto accepted dogmas, which, though it may have originated with, is by no means now confined to, the more advanced scientific minds, having not only gained ground with, but already very extensively permeated lower strata. The exceptional facilities afforded indeed in the present age, for the rapid diffusion of thought ; the vast strides in the advance of education, which have swept away the old restrictive barriers formerly limiting its expansion, have it may be said, made equally the common property of all, the far-reaching conceptions of advanced scientific intellects, which in former ages could but have remained as hoarded treasures with a gifted few. For, although the more subtle distinctions of thought, so carefully guarded in expression in the majority of the more

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refined criticisms of the day, may not be patent alike to all perceptions, few, who devote attention to the subject at all, are so deficient in capacity or culture as to be incapable of grasping the salient points of controversies when they are depicted with a force and vividness of coloring which cannot fail to attract and fix all attentions,——when reiterated moreover with a frequency which must ultimately secure for them the prominence in consideration to which it is sought that they shall be elevated. In Science, in History, but more particularly in Theology, the intrepid and determined demolition of all old recognized restraints and boundaries has been followed by the loosing of floods of destructive criticism, whose torrents threaten to inundate and sweep away with them in their relentless course many of the most tenderly-cherished traditions of the past to which a large portion of the human race has now for centuries accustomed itself to cling; without however, it may perhaps be admitted, the evincing of much anxiety upon the subject of their stability. The temper of the age is in fact no longer wholly that of compromise in regard to religious thought, and although a certain section of the community might be but too willing to temporize or to “put the question by,” following a precedent which has not unfrequently ere this proved successful in such matters, the controversy would seem to have at length attained a stage, at which the certainty of impending changes, impelled by the gathering cumulative force of public opinion, must cease to be longer dubious. That the reaction which has set in will be fatal to religion, that indispensable “magistrate of man’s life,” there seems little or no cause to fear; the happiness of mankind being, as it were, inseparably connected and linked with some form of religious belief; that it must prove injurious to many of the current dogmas of the Christian Church would appear however almost inevitable.

In this view, we cannot perhaps be too frequently reminded that Religion and Christianity, though terms which are capable of being frequently made use of interchangeably, are far from being correctly regarded in consequence as absolute synonyms. That both may exist apart, and have often so existed, independently of each other, the historic records of the mental development of the human race in all times will sufficiently attest and demonstrate. In the early claims of Christianity, this fact was perhaps more patent, it was certainly more readily conceded, than in the present day. The philosophical bias of the early Fathers of the Christian Church permitted indeed a latitude in Patristic concession on this subject which has been sternly repudiated since later political developments in the position of the church. In the larger Apology of Justin, Martyr we find for instance, by a happy syncretic assimilation of Christianity to the then current philo-

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sophy, Christ described as "the Logos (the reason or intelligence)—of which all men participate; so that, affirms Justin, every one who has ever lived according to Logos (reason) was a Christian." A conception not altogether foreign to that of Coleridge's later axiom, which defines Christianity as a living process, rather than a theory or speculation. Nothing is perhaps more difficult for us to realise now than the fact that there was once a period in the world's history when Christianity itself, struggling for very existence, was regarded merely as "the latest form of infidelity" of the epoch; or when, in fact, the charge most frequently pressed against professing Christians themselves was that of atheism, an accusation Christianity has not unfrequently since employed to assail and suppress all rivals. All, observes Bacon—"that impugn a received religion or superstition, are by the adverse party branded with the name of atheists;" fortunately, as he adds, "*Ira hominis non implet Justitia Dei.*"

Persons interested in defending the cruder and expiring imaginations handed down by tradition against the last advances for the time being of a newer learning, as has been shrewdly observed by an able American writer, have almost always endeavoured (and as often as not in perfect good faith) to enlist the sympathies of the lay-people by presenting themselves as the defenders of Religion; but that is no reason why their opponents should put themselves under gratuitous difficulties and help to prejudice the reception of scientific truth by taking their word for it. The true conflict is in fact, he maintains merely between one phase of science and another; between the more crude knowledge of yesterday, and the less crude knowledge of today. "At the bottom of changing theological beliefs there lies something which men perennially value, and for the sake of which they cling to the belief as long as possible. That which they value is not itself a matter of belief, but it is a matter of conduct. It is the searching after goodness, after a higher life than the mere satisfaction of individual desires. All animals seek for fulness of life; but in civilized man this feeling has acquired a moral significance, and has become a spiritual aspiration; and this emotional tendency, more or less strong, in the human race, we call religious feeling or religion. Viewed in this light, religion is not only something that mankind is never likely to get rid of, but it is incomparably the most noble as well as the most useful attribute of humanity".

In current literature as in society there would seem, at the present moment, a determined revival of the higher or "Hellenic" form of "Paganism," a brisk renewal in fact of the old conflict waged with varying success and under a variety of diverse forms and aspects since the early centuries of the

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Christian era. The currents of modern religious opinion which, according to Mr. Gladstone, have in the present day attained "a sharp and unordered motion," appear to be indeed resuming many of the older channels of philosophic thought which had long fallen into disuse; ancient Grecian courses from which the waters had long since been diverted. A tendency which has very quickly attained a somewhat formidable developement has undoubtedly recently also been gaining much ground. It is one which would render the continued acceptance of the truth of the Christian creed in a great measure absolutely dependant "on its power of assimilating the doctrine of universal causation; or, to speak more precisely, of demonstrating that that doctrine is itself only a form of a yet higher and holier truth." The more advanced scientific minds of the age would indeed even dismiss, as unscientific all thoughts of an invisible Supreme Being, or would simply relegate them to the vague region of metaphysics. It being held that in the absence of the elimination of all questions regarding a Divine Nature in the consideration of the world and its phenomena, the free course of inductive reasoning is unduly impeded and restrained. Amid the bewildering mazes of theological beliefs the Churches alone have at present however the advantage which attaches to a fixed and recognised organization. If we approach the subject even from Mr. Gladstone's view of the well-defined encircling lines which can be drawn around the five great schools of modern thought, (enumerated as 'The Catholic, the Anglican, the Protestant-Evangelical, the Theistic, or the Negative, with again their respective subdivisions,) we shall perhaps more fully realise how completely this is still the case.

As has been justly pointed out in a recent essay with reference to this fact, it is specially important to remember, however, that adherents of the two last mentioned schools, (if schools they can be termed) consist mainly of select individuals, scattered here and there—and not of compact ecclesiastical or national communities; and (as the writer goes on to urge) it would therefore be premature to assume, that either of them, however plausible or attractive, as exemplified in individuals, would be found equal to the laborious duty of reforming or training great masses of mankind, which is after all the working test of a religious system or creed that can hold its own in the world. There can indeed be no doubt but that the solid and homogeneous organization of the churches represents an attractive force which cannot be over estimated and has as yet no equivalent in the more recently developed schools. Thus while the work of critical demolition whether attempted from the scientific or historical point of view is found to be one of no insurmountable difficulty, it is deeply felt that in the absence of some recognized nucleus of organization, the work of sound and permanent reconstruction

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is far from being one which can be hastily or crudely attempted, with any immediate prospect of success or without the re-employment even if in a modified form of a large portion of the old materials of the present structures. It follows as a necessary sequence that numbers evince reluctance and hesitate ere they wholly abandon or discard their heritage from the past, built up as it has been by authority and tradition, and consolidated in centuries of experience, when science propounds for acceptance theories which would ruthlessly sweep away their last standing points; whatever the extent to which they may be prepared, perhaps reluctantly to concede that many beliefs and traditions hitherto carefully guarded and treasured may have become valueless or no longer soundly (scientifically) tenable.* That the free intermingling of Science with Religion which is characteristic of the present age, would be productive of results adverse to the retention in their current form, of many of the hitherto accepted theological dogmas has long been foreseen. According to an aphorism, imputed to Bacon (of Verulam) "The mingling of Science with Religion can but lead to unbelief, whilst that of Religion with Science leads to extravagance."† The really formidable antagonists of Christianity in the present day are, as is at length being now recognized, the rival creeds whose true nature we fail to realize because we persist in describing them by the negative name of scepticism and unbelief; whereas they would cease to be formidable did such appellations truly represent their character or were they the mere negations we affirm, for a bare negation neither inspires enthusiasm nor wins for itself votaries.‡

* In that remarkable work "The Unseen Universe" the somewhat arbitrary division of those who think at all upon the subject of religion is thus made:—

(a) Those who are so absolutely certain of the truth of their religion and of the immortality that it teaches that they are not qualified to entertain or even to perceive any scientific objection.

(b) Those who see strong grounds for believing in the immortality of man and the existence of an invisible world, but who at the same time are forced to acknowledge the strength of the objections urged against these doctrines by certain men of science.

(c) Those of the extreme materialistic school.

Upon this subject, however, see Mr.

Gladstone's Physical Axioms. (Article on "The Courses of Religious Thought." Contemporary Review June 1876 pp. 45 46;) which offer a far more comprehensive distribution.

† All religious controversies are therefore to be avoided as pernicious.

"Let religion" he urges, "remain untouched, but let it not (after the manner of the scholastics) be mixed with Science."

‡ This has been very ably contended in a series of articles on "Natural Religion," in *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1876.

"It is not because they think Christianity untrue that these schools attack it, but because they think it obscures the true religion in which mankind should seek its salvation. Now what are these rival religions which attack Christianity not out of

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In the able work of Draper upon the "Conflict between Religion and Science," of which the title heads this article, and upon which it is proposed to offer some remarks, the implacable hostility and schism which has ever existed between Science and Religion is treated from a strictly historical point of view; and side by side the author has depicted, in an extremely lucid narrative form, the views and acts of the contending parties from early historic ages; it being his endeavour to show that the history of Science, correctly viewed is not the mere record of isolated discoveries which it is ordinarily improperly and unfairly deemed, but a narrative of the ceaseless warfare of two contending powers personified by the expansive force of the human intellect on the one side as opposed to the compression arising from traditionary faith and human interests on the other. That there will be some of our readers who may possibly take exception to this purely historical method of treatment of the subject is not improbable, its approach from whatever point of view, being ordinarily somewhat jealously guarded; our remarks therefore will be rather addressed to those who may be assumed to be not unwilling to recognize in Christianity "a very complex historical fact, with a vast multiplicity of aspects." At the same time, as far as is compatible with descriptive historical accuracy, all assertions which might provoke polemic discussion or give rise to aggressive controversy will as far as practicable be studiously avoided.

mere wickedness and dulness, but with enthusiasm and confidence? We have spoken of them in this paper under the names of *Art* and *Science*, but those who have read the earlier papers of this series will remember that we thought we could discern in the whole religious history of mankind, the conflict of three forms of religion.—

There was the religion of visible things or *Paganism*, which though generally a low type of religion, yet in its classical form became the nursing mother of *Art*.

There was the religion of *Humanity* in its various forms, of which the principal was Christianity.

Lastly there was the religion of *God*; which worships a Unity conceived in one way or another as holding the universe together.

We found that these forms of religion, though theoretically distinguishable seldom appear in their distinctness, and that in particular Christia-

nity preeminently the religion of humanity is yet also a religion of Deity. Now if we apply these categories to the controversies of our own time we shall say that we see the ancient religion of humanity which has so long reigned among us under the name of Christianity assailed on the one side by the *Higher Paganism*, under the name of *Art*; and on the other side by a peculiarly severe and stern form of *Theism*, under the name of *Science*. And when we look back over the history of the Church, we see that it has always been struggling with these two rival religions, and that the only peculiarity of our age is the confident and triumphant manner in which the two enemies advance to the attack from opposite sides—* * However these religions may jangle amongst themselves, they are or should be united against the common foe, which is irreligion."

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"The history of the world," remarks Hegel, "begins in the East, but it is only in the West that the light of self-consciousness rises. Oriental History represents the childhood of humanity. The Grecian mind corresponds to the period of youth. The Roman Empire represents the age of manhood.*" That almost every ethical conception which has ever perplexed the Western mind has been due, and may be traced in its first instance and origin to Eastern imaginative speculation is now indeed very generally conceded; † for although the ideas of the ancients may not themselves have been productive (owing possibly to a deficiency of physical conceptions), the germs of thought, which have later with such avidity been seized upon, and fearlessly elaborated, by the occident, were undoubtedly there and were present in the earliest historic times to oriental romantic and ideal contemplation. It is in truth to the East, that cradle of philosophical inceptions, ‡ that we must turn for the earliest dawning awakening to the fact, pregnant with multifarious results of such complexity, the full purport and consequences of which upon the creeds of future generations, are possibly as yet but dimly foreshadowed, and imperfectly understood, that force is indestructible and eternal;—the theory of one energy of nature, protean, universal, pervading all things,—whilst the development of the oriental tentative studies and crude inceptions in regard to the forms and properties of matter has resulted in the West in the recognition of laws of energy and the great principle of conservation. || It may indeed be affirmed that the majority of the neoteric and more recent discoveries which have revealed

* Hegel treats the *stadia* of religion in its historical development thus.—

*First.** The Natural religion of the Orient (in which God is conceived as natural substance.)

Second. The religions in which God is viewed as subject (in particular the Jewish religion or the religion of sublimity; the Greek or the religion of beauty; the Roman, or the religion of utility or adaptation).

Third. The Absolute religion (which recognizes God at once in his self alienation in finitude, and in his unity with the finite or his life in the recognized community or church.

† Max Muller has termed the world of India "a microcosm in itself" in regard to ethical conceptions.

‡ The reason for the Orient being

invariably the cradle of religions is found by Latze in the consideration that the Oriental eye is ever directed to the *whole*, whilst the Occident regards rather the *universal*.

|| See an able work on this subject by Balfour Stewart, M.A., LL.D. *The Conservation of Energy*. H. S. King & Co., London 1875.

The ultimate fate of the visible universe is thus treated by this author "we are led to look to a beginning in which the particles of matter were in a diffuse chaotic state but endowed with the power of gravitation, and we are led to look to an end in which the whole universe will be one equally heated inert mass, and from which everything like life or motion or beauty, will have utterly gone away."

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themselves to modern scientific interrogation had to a great extent been foreshadowed or had at least been dimly if imperfectly discovered by the oriental mind long ere their revelation was ultimately achieved in the Western scientific world. The doctrines of evolution, creation, and development, which more particularly have been recently revived with assertions having at first sight all the appearance of novelty of conception, were by no means unfamiliar to the early discussions of the East; it being even contended by Draper that the present intellectual movement of Christendom in its treatment of the current controversy of the day—(that of the mode of Government of the world by the operation of primordial law,)—has but attained to the plane reached by Arabism in the tenth and eleventh centuries of our era. The advantages indeed both social and intellectual which have at different periods accrued to Europe from contact with the Eastern World have perhaps hitherto been much under-estimated and have but very recently obtained any fair meed of recognition.*

The origin of Science may be said to be now almost unanimously placed in the East by the common consent of all who treat of the subject. In the work before us however its birthplace is yet further indicated and its inception traced to the establishment of the Alexandrian Museum—where “the genius of the East met the genius of the West,” its genesis being regarded and discussed as a direct consequence of the Macedonian campaigns which brought Asia and Europe into contact. It has been observed by Ueberweg with perspicuous discernment that philosophy as Science could originate neither among the peoples of the north, who were eminent for strength and courage, but devoid of culture, nor among the orientals, who, though susceptible of the element of higher culture, were content simply to retain them in a spirit of passive resignation, but only among the Hellenes, who harmoniously combined the characteristics of both. The Romans devoted to practical and particularly to political problems scarcely occupied themselves with philosophy except in the appropriation of Hellenic ideas, and scarcely attained to any productive originality of their own.† The epoch of the introduction of Deities into the religion

* The rudeness of Europe was softened by contact with oriental refinement. Language was enriched by many new words from a pure, flexible and copious tongue in whose accents alone lived poetry and learning. From the Arabs, Europe obtained the arabesque style of architecture and ornamentation; the long lost treasures of classical literature, comprising the history, poetry, and

philosophy of Greece and Rome; together with astronomy, astrology, chemistry, the arabic numerals and algebra. See “The Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce, From 1600 B. C. to A. D. 1789. By John Yeats, LL.D. &c., London. Virtue & Co., 1872.

† “To what extent the genesis of Greek philosophy was effected by oriental influences is a problem

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of Greece though a much disputed point is by many ascribed to the age of Homer, "the father of poetical diction," the first who taught the "language of the gods" to men. If, urges Pope, Homer was not the first who introduced the Deities (as Herodotus imagines) into the religion of Greece, he seems the first who brought them into a system of machinery for poetry, and such a one as makes its greatest importance and dignity * * * and after all the changes of times and religions his gods continue to this day the gods of poetry.* To the ancient Greek philosophers is however in any case due the earliest precision of thought in the personification of abstractions, which would allow of their more general and familiar recognition. To ideal conceptions "a form and body" was first given, a stage in progressive advance unattainable by races of lower culture. The recognition of the immaterial was, it has been affirmed by Bain, indeed wholly beyond the comprehension of the latter; and was scarcely an attainable phase of thought. "until Greek philosophy taught the world how to use and abuse abstract notions." Thus the Alexandrian Museum, aided and fostered by royal patronage, with its 14,000 students of all nations, although, perhaps scarcely correctly to be regarded as the actual birth-place of science, became, it may be conceded at least, a great attractive focus and point of convergence and concentration of all the learning of the age. Nor was this all; for its action was undoubtedly equally that of a great dissipating and radiating centre from which culture and knowledge were again diffused and disseminated throughout all parts of the known world. The conquest by Alexander, of Asia, of Syria, of Cyprus and Egypt, the march of the Macedonian Army from the Danube to the Nile, from the Nile to the Ganges, had necessarily powerfully affected the speculative temperament of the Greeks in bringing them in immediate contact not only with various and diverse aspects of nature but with the ancient religious faiths then current in the East

whose definite solution can only be anticipated as the result of the farther progress of oriental and particularly of Egyptological investigations. It is certain however that the Greeks did not meet with fully developed and completed philosophical systems among the orientals. The only question can be, whether, and in what measure, oriental religious ideas occasioned in the speculation of Grecian thinkers (especially on the subject of God and the human soul,) a deviation from the national type of Hellenic culture and gave it its direction toward the

invisible, the inexperimental, the transcendent, a movement which culminated in Pythagoreanism and Platonism." *Ueberwee's History of Philosophy*. Vol 1 p. 31.

* Herodotus actually says, (II. 53) "Homer and Hesiod framed the Theogony of the Hellenes; but the poets, who are believed to have lived before them, in my opinion were their successors." "In II. 81 (cf. 123) Herodotus declares the so-called Orphic and Bacchic doctrines to be Egyptian and Pythagorean.—*Ibid.* Vol. 1. p. 25.

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and in no measured degree an exceptional and important widening of the field of intellectual speculative thought must have resulted. Egypt, at the time of its conquest by Alexander, a mere satrapy of Persia, had already attained to high intellectual development and culture, with richly endowed temples and a sacerdotal class in possession of the literature and learning of the race. The religious ideas of Egypt, one of the two great countries of the world which has performed so important a part in the religious history of the East,* were still however associated with the worship of the sun with whom all the principal deities were connected. That this Macedonian campaign induced the earliest adjunction of Grecian with Egyptian thought seems however improbable; for Greek mercenaries are said to have been employed in the Egyptian Army by *Psammetichus* (who ruled over Egypt B.C. 617-671)—whose grandson Amasis (as early as 526 B.C.) not only permitted the Greeks to erect temples and warehouses in Egypt but had opened up to them the passage of the Nile.† The travels of Pythagoras in Egypt are also variously affirmed, whilst the doctrine of metempsychosis and certain religious regulations of the Orphists and Pythagoreans are ascribed as early as Herodotus (11-81 and 123) to Egyptian inception and origin. Whilst, however, it is denied by Ueberweg that the Egyptian mythology in any way influenced Grecian thought, he would claim for the Greeks that they had on their part considerably influenced the astronomical and geological observations and speculations of the Egyptians‡ In Persia the religious belief of the time was Magianism still essentially a worship of the elements, a faith which had supplanted Dualism, itself the successor of the monotheistic teaching of Zoroaster.|| The Indian campaigns

* "The Egyptians possessed an extensive literature, the invention of the art of writing being due to them. By means of the hieroglyphic or direct representation of celestial, terrestrial or other objects, they expressed sounds or ideas, and by the union of the two their language *** the principal works, in the literature were religious *** hymns to different gods; ethical treatises on morals and others *à la* rhetoric. In medicine, chiefly of an empirical nature and much mixed up with charms and adjurations, several treatises ascribed to the oldest dynasties are known, others of Geometry Mensuration and Arithmetic are also extant."—*Egypt from the earliest times to 300 B.C.* By S. Birch, LL.D.

† Yeats' "*Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce.*"

‡ He asserts that certain Geometrical problems seem rather to have been merely empirically discovered by the Egyptians in the measurement of their fields, than scientifically demonstrated by them; and that the discovery of the proofs, and the creation of a system of Geometry, must be considered to have been the works of the Greeks. — "*History of Philosophy.*"

|| The religious views of Zoroaster represent the reaction of the mind against mere nature worship, tending as this does, (says Vaux) directly to Polytheism and to the doctrine of "Emanations."

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of Alexander, marked by a relentless slaughter of unresisting populations, had brought the conquerors in immediate apposition also with the oldest and most primitive forms of the *Aryan* faith. In the canonical books of the three principal religions of the ancient *Aryan* world, and in the Veda of the Brahmins, in the *Zend-Avesta* of the *Zoroastrians* and the *Tripitaka* of the Buddhists can be traced, as is affirmed, by Max Müller, the real origin of the Greek and Roman, (and likewise of Teutonic, Slavonic and Celtic) mythology.

The Græco-Macedonian Empire, which had thus been extended over all Asia, from the shores of the Mediterranean to India, was not destined to long retain its pre-eminence; and the loss of the master-mind of Alexander, which had alone held it together, was followed after his death by the dismemberment of the Empire and its partition into four great kingdoms under the Macedonian generals. A division of momentous import to science, as it afforded to Ptolemy Soter the opportunity, in founding the Alexandrian museum, of constituting his new capital the intellectual metropolis of the world. Not only however had the site of the city been previously determined by Alexander, (its foundation had been laid on the occasion of his visit to the oasis and temple of Jupiter Ammon) but with his usual forethought, provision had acutully been made for its population in the deportation for the purpose of large numbers of Jews from Palestine, a course subsequently followed by both Ptolemy Soter and his son Philadelphus, the former of whom is said to have transferred no less than 100,000 after the siege of Jerusalem, whilst the latter redeemed 198,000 more from slavery with the Egyptians. Multitudes of Greeks had also sought refuge in Egypt, to which country Jews and Syrians were much encouraged to emigrate, and these component elements of the Alexandrian population each necessarily exercised no mean influence in moulding the forms and direction of later philosophic thought. As Draper specially points out—The population of Alexandria was mainly thus composed of three elements. 1 Native Egyptians. 2 Greeks. 3 Jews. The last a fact which has left its impress on the religious faith of modern Europe. The Jewish monotheism became indeed no unimportant factor in the evolution of later Greek philosophy, when Jews, through the reception of elements of Greek culture, had acquired a disposition

"Such views he adds embody the highest struggle of the human intellect (unaided by Revelation) towards spiritualism and are so far an attempt to create a religious system by the simple energies of human

reason. Hence their general direction is towards a pure monotheism.—*Ancient History from the monuments.* Persia. W. S. W. Vaux, M.A. F.R.S. &c.

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for scientific thought.* The intellectual acumen of the Greek philosophers, forcibly incited and stimulated no doubt by contact with oriental nations and modes of thought; the insatiable curiosity of minds capable of applying sublimation of conception to the older and grosser materialistic theories, influenced and aided by new physical speculations led to an advance to a classification of the great elements, and mainly assisted to distinguish and develop the conception of their several characteristics. From the "Shadow" of the archaic thinker, to the Air and Fire of the Grecian sage, was no mean stride in sublimation of conception. † The materialistic idea of the vital spirit or soul of the *Iliad*, had undergone considerable modification ere in Plato and Aristotle it could attain the dawning recognition of immateriality. ** So marked indeed had been the advance, that around the systems of the two philosophers whom we have named, it has been somewhat broadly affirmed, may be still to the present day correctly grouped all subsequent philosophy, ranging from Plato to Hamilton on the one side and from Aristotle to Comte on the other:—Aristotle on the one hand affirming that "the search for causes is a mere attempt of the understanding to put into simple form the facts of the senses;" as opposed to which view, on the other hand, Plato as stoutly maintains that "from the very ideas which are inseparable from the thinking substance, we believe in causation and in a first cause." Plato's theory of the soul is in fact credited by Bain as being one of the influences mainly determining the modern settlement of the question; whilst to Aristotle, alike "a devotee to facts and a master of the highest abstractions," he considers due the inception of many of the more subtle distinctions which have ever since permeated human thought. So much will no doubt be conceded, that whatever the changes may have been in the aspects from which the solution of the problems which perplexed these old Greek philosophers are now regarded, the questions themselves remain vitally ever the same;—their accurate

* Speaking of a somewhat later period, Ueberweg remarks as follows "The Hellenic mode of thought was blended with the Oriental and the representatives of philosophy (now become Theosophy) were either Jews under Hellenic influence, Egyptians and other Orientals, or men Hellenic in race who were deeply impregnated with orientalism."—Ueberweg. *Kol.* 1, p. 27 *et seq.*

† There is an excellent chapter on this subject in a little volume, entitled "Mind and Body: The Theories of their relation." By Alex. Bain, L. L. D.

H. S. King & Co., London, 1874.

Compare—

"The vital spirit issued at the wound.
And left the member quivering on the ground.
and again—

The nerves unbraced support his limbs no more
The soul comes floating in a tide of gore
In the wound of the godless Venus
we have a foreshadowing of the later
advances in anthropomorphic mythology.

From the clear vein a stream immortal flow'd
Such stream as issues from a wounded God
Pure emanation. Un corrupted flood,
Unlike our gross diseased terrestrial blood."

FORM'S TRANSLATION.

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•
solution being perhaps as distant then as now for though, as has been urged, in all philosophical problems the ever recurring advancements of new positions may intervene to preclude the discussion and treatment of the subject-matter from the precise phase of view from which, up to a certain stage of knowledge, it may (correctly) have been approached, the core of the problem is yet ever the same, it being merely the method of attempted solution which is altered owing to an advance of thought permitting access to it from a new aspect and through avenues of approach—the concession of passage by which would perhaps earlier have been regarded as inadmissible. As Draper justly observes, in the pre-Christian era as now, we have dealt and ever dealt only with the same old queries—"What is God? What is the soul? What is the world? How is it governed? Have we any standard or criterion of truth?"

The frequent and periodic discoveries of new forms or combinations, of new powers or properties of matter, now so often and so triumphantly proclaimed, cannot but be recognized as in a great measure the result of the direction given to the mind at this period of the world's history; and in this view, undoubtedly, there are therefore efficient grounds for the theory adduced by Draper, and for ascribing the origin of science to the impetus and direction given to scientific research by the Alexandrian Museum. That at least it bequeathed to all after-ages a vast groundwork and nucleus of farther investigation will not admit of denial. Each succeeding generation has, it may be alleged, this advantage over that by which it has been immediately preceded, in that something has in the meantime been added to the vast store of cumulative experience and knowledge which ever forms in each century a new starting-point of further investigations. Nor could in fact the progressive superstructure of the advance have attained to its present proportions and development had not the original foundations, the legacy of the past, been laid in sound and accurate data. Tested as so much has been by the thoughtful general acceptance of scientific minds during successive ages, and supported by facts of which protracted and cumulative experience have uniformly demonstrated the accuracy and value, we are at length being slowly brought to recognize and admit, that not only is their basis of sufficient breadth to support reliable inductions, but that a further advance may now safely be made towards wider and more comprehensive principles and inferences than have hitherto been permissible. We now stand, as it were, at a higher elevation: upon a structure reared on centuries of successive toil by preceding ages, and our range of vision, has, in consequence, proportionately widened. Our horizon in the current nineteenth century has in fact ceased to be that which bounded the views of the ancient Greek philosophers, for it is now clear that we

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have not wholly abandoned or lost our heritage from the past but that we shall yet be enabled to retain much of what Carlyle has termed "The beautiful, the religious wisdom, which may still, with something of its old impressiveness, speak to the whole soul ; still in these hard, unbelieving, utilitarian days, reveal to us glimpses of the unseen but not unreal world, that so, the actual and the ideal may again meet together, and clear knowledge be again wedded to religion in the life and business of men."

A wholly new element was however to be introduced to the world through the medium, and in the garb of Christianity. It has been justly remarked by Burke that before the Christian religion had, as it were, *humanised* the idea of the Divinity and brought it somewhat nearer to us, there was very little said of the *love* of God. The followers of Plato had, he observes, something of it and only something ; the other writers of pagan antiquity, whether poets or philosophers—nothing at all.* In pre-Christian times when men were herded by laws within the enclosure of a national ritual, the fears and hopes of superstition were alone all powerful. As has been accurately pointed out in a recent essay ; we, a nation bred in the Protestant faith, are accustomed to take much too seriously the religion of the Greeks, a religion which strangely enough had not even a distinctive name. "It was quite impossible and we may assume quite unnecessary for people to *love*, or in any true sense of the word, to reverence Zeus, Here, Poseidon or Aphrodite. . . . Aphrodite and other beautiful forms partly personified the power of nature, partly were a sort of deputies, as we ourselves are over slaves or animals, perhaps bound by some laws perhaps not ; but behind them dreaded then by all as by millions to-day was *Fate* ; perhaps omniscient, perhaps blind, perhaps benevolent, perhaps passionless ; at all events unchanging, mysterious, for ever unfathomed." Even Zeus himself, says Æschylus, cannot escape the decrees of fate. The essentially Christian principle of individual faith, as of profession or enquiry, was almost unknown prior to the Christian era ; the rights of conscience were were neither recognized nor understood. Greek legislators with the view of securing to the republic the greatest military force by means of the most complete social unity, had prohibited, with the sternest despotism, dissent from the popular superstitions,

* He adds—"Those who consider with what infinite attention, by what a disregard of every perishable object, through what long habits of piety and contemplation it is, that any man is able to attain an entire love and devotion to the Deity, will easily perceive that it is not the first, the more natural and the more

striking effect which proceeds from that idea.—*A Treatise on "The sublime and Beautiful."*—By the Rt. Hon. Burke.

Longfellow also has beautifully expressed this idea ;—When the heart goes before like a lamp, and illumines the pathway, many things are made clear that else lie hidden in darkness

disbelief in which constituted an offence against the State. The social tranquillity of the latter was considered as indissolubly bound up with uniformity of religious professions; and while Draco punished dissent with death, Plato would have denounced it to the Magistrate as a crime.* In Rome also this important despotic power was equally conserved by the State, of declaring what forms of religion were permitted by the law (*licite*)! though such authority was rarely exercised with rigour excepting against such foreign superstitions as were considered pernicious to the morals of the people.† In the Eastern, as in the Western world the deities were still merely all puissant and dreaded beings called gods, whom it was necessary to propitiate with various rites and ceremonies. Able to inflict upon human beings at their capricious pleasure the greatest evils, which could neither be averted nor foreseen, what wonder that these hostile and malignant powers were dreaded with an awe inseparable from the contemplation of the idea of such illimitable power. It almost necessarily ensued upon such a conception of their connection with power, that its absence should equally induce contempt, "the attendant on a strength that is subservient and innoxious." Faith in a national God was scarcely capable of being long sustained in the visible degradation witnessed, of the destruction of his temples by the aid of the more powerful tutelary divinity of a triumphant and subduing race. Nor was this all; for as the acceptance of the actual truth in regard to one visible universe became more general, and demonstrated the fallacy of the belief in the canopy above being the almost visible Olympus of the gods, for which it had too credulously been accepted, the gods themselves at length suffered in being contemptuously dismissed; both "those of the Ionian type of Homer and those of the Doric of Hesiod, vanishing with their habitation" of which in the popular belief they shared the fate. Such fate was, however, by no means a sudden or unanticipated destiny. It had long been foreseen by the more advanced minds, and the growth of public scepticism had advanced through many stages of decadence ere it ultimately resulted in the entire rejection.

* We are apt to overlook the fact that at the period of the first introduction of Christianity itself to the world, it could but be regarded as "the latest form of infidelity." *Theism, Atheism and the popular Theology.*—By Theodore Parker. Trübner and Co., London, 1874.

Aristotle allowed but one established worship; and Socrates was sentenced to death for independence of religious conviction.

On this subject, see an Essay on *The Union of Church and State.* Wriothesley Noel, M.A.

† Cicero shews this in his Book of Laws. The rites considered obnoxious were, at earlier times, the *Dionysiac*, in later the *Isiac* and *Serapic.*—*History of Christianity.* H. H. Milman. John Murray, London 1867.

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of the ancient mythological traditions. "Not he is godless who rejects the Gods of the crowd, but rather he who accepts them" affirmed Epicurus, whilst two centuries later his follower Lucretius had advanced yet further when he boldly affirms that with correct apprehension—"Nature free at once, and rid of her haughty lords, is seen to do all things spontaneously of herself without the meddling of the Gods."

We must advance however to the Christian era. The religions of the ancient world were, at this period of its history, effete and slowly dying out, even in popular observance. Rome, the gate-keeper of the world, was at the zenith of her power. In this, the Augustan age, her empire circled the Mediterranean and extended from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. The divinities of the numerous conquered nations, had been collected in the Pantheon of the imperial city. Carthage, Greece, Spain, the islands of the Mediterranean, Syria, Gaul, Egypt, all had successively succumbed to the might of the Roman power, and were mere provinces of that vast empire. Yet as with Corinth, Athens, Carthage, Alexandria, Thebes, Memphis, Meroë, Tyre, Palmyra, Babylon and Nineveh, whose fall had preceded hers, a false sense of security resulting from military success and licentious profusion was already at work undermining the stability of the empire.* In the progress of knowledge a death blow had already been dealt to the popular religions both of Greece and Rome; the process of humanizing the deity which allowed divine honors to be paid first to deceased Emperors, but at length to the living also, could but bring with it the contempt for deities bred of familiarity, and fatal to prolonged respect. This deification of the living Emperor or the apotheosis of the dead, indeed, tended in the opinion of Dean Milman more than any other existing rite to enfeeble all religious feelings. The moral effect was simply incompatible with the retention of hitherto current religious belief. As Draper justly remarks, it was not so much therefore the importation of Greek scepticism which made Rome sceptical, but the excesses of religion itself which must be credited with the sapping of the very foundations of faith. Religion had become a mere husk, a shell without a kernel; old moral rules had lost their fixity and their sanctions. The reaction which had set in, first of dissatisfaction, then of denial, and later of aggression on existing things, the vague desires and longings for something higher, purer, better, were of themselves incapable of forming the basis or ground-work of a stable and permanent faith. Such cannot indeed be thus suddenly evoked or called into existence at pleasure: it requires not only the support of a positive and earnest creed, but a recognised or-

* Yeats.

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ganisation and hierarchy. In the absence of a settled and definite system, without acknowledged chiefs, without even a fixed creed, without belief, without authority, permanent stability would indeed seem unattainable. Whatever the ground gained by philosophy in inculcating a purer and loftier morality, in religion it was without recognised and acknowledged authority. It could demolish and destroy, but was as yet incapable of reconstructing, and the bewilderment resulting from the variety of conflicting and unsettled opinions necessarily rendered inoperative, the attempted absorption of the masses of the population in, or their attachment to, any particular school. They were thus therefore not only without any recognised leaders around whom they could confidently rally, but it may almost be said without a faith in which continuance in belief remained possible. In this morning of civilisation the mental development was struggling earnestly to keep pace with the progressive advance from childhood of the human race. The whole Roman Empire was undoubtedly at a stage, and in a condition, both from its political organisation and from the absence of all accredited forms of worship, singularly favorable to the reception of a new creed, of a doctrine and an organisation such as that offered by the Christian Church. The minds of the masses had advanced beyond the old ancestral poetic faith, they were yet unripe for the reception of Philosophy. There was a nebulous desire for a complete severance from a past, a sense of unrest, of dissatisfaction, yet still more of expectation, until at length the vacuum was to a certain extent filled by the organisation of the Christian Church—and the recognition of the national exchange of Polytheism for Monotheism. In the words of Dean Milman the unity of Deity becomes (at the commencement of this new era) not the high and mysterious creed of a privileged and sacerdotal or intellectual oligarchy, but the common property of all* whose minds are fitted to receive it. All religious distinctions are annihilated; the jurisdictions of all local deities abolished; and imperceptibly the Empire of Rome becomes one great Christian common-wealth, which even sends out, as it were, its principal colonies into regions beyond the limits of the Imperial power. The characteristic distinction of the general revolution is this, that the *physical* agency of the Deity seems to recede from the view, while the *spiritual* character is more distinctly unfolded; or rather the notion of the Divine *power* is merged in the more prevailing

* We are reminded of the beautiful expression of this fact, in Tennyson's poem. "In Memoriam."

Tho' truths in manhood darkly join
Deep-seated in our mystic frame,
We yield all blessing to the name
Of Him that made them current coin.
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sentiment of his moral *goodness* * * the great primary principles which became incorporated with the mind of man ; and operating on all human institutions on the common sentiments of the whole race, from the great distinctive difference between the ancient and the modern, the European and the Asiatic world.

The connection of the Founder of Christianity with the rise and spread of the Christian faith is treated by Draper in a somewhat parenthetical manner ; which however since the appearance of the works of Strauss* and of Renan † has become familiar to us in the purely historic mode of treatment of the subject of Christianity, the doctrines inculcated by which are regarded mainly as consequent on, or in harmony with, that sentiment of universal brotherhood arising from the coalescence of the conquered kingdoms. It is not, however, within our province or intent in this article to touch upon the subject of the original of Christianity ; nor our purpose to join issue with those who regard its rise rather as a gradual self-development of the human mind, than as a direct supernatural communication and revelation from God to man, to which in the Calvinistic system it has been gradually narrowed down ; ‡ and we shall rapidly pass on to the more advanced stage of its political development and organization when Constantine, the first Christian Emperor had ascended the throne of the Cæsars. Our space, however, necessarily compels the limitation of our remarks to a very superficial and cursory examination of each period of the Church's history reviewed in the work before us ; and it will but be possible—

To follow the wanderer's footsteps
Not through each devious path, each changeful year of existence
But as a traveller follows a streamlet's course through the valley ;
Far from its margin at times, and seeing the gleam of its water
Here and there, in some open space, and at intervals only,
Then drawing nearer its banks, through sylvan glooms that conceal it
Though he behold it not, he can hear its continuous murmur, *
Happy at length if he find the spot where it reaches an outlet.

To the time of Constantine no less than ten* remarkable persecutions are narrated as having occurred, under the Emperors Nero, Domitian, Trajan and Adrian, Lucius Verus, Septimius

* Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk. Leipzig 1864 Of the revised edition an authorised translation (New Life of Jesus) was published in London in 1866.

† Renan's Life of Jesus.

‡ See an interesting article on this subject, *Saturday Review*, 29th April 1876. "The rationale of miracles."

"We must look at Revelation not as a system of doctrines contained

in an inspired book, but as a series of complex historical facts" April 1876 *Church Quarterly Review*.

According to Pascal, "There are three means of believing ; by inspiration, by reason and by habit. Christianity, (which is the only rational religion) acknowledges none for its true sons but those who believe by inspiration."—"Thoughts on Religion." Blaise Pascal.

Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian and Diocletian respectively.* As has been before observed, dissent from the popular superstitions was alone sufficient to mark the dissentient as a bad citizen, an enemy to the State; and as a necessary consequence it followed that the motives of persecution were in almost every instance political rather than religious. The refusal to sacrifice to the national gods, the want of loyalty evinced in failing to offer incense to the statues of deceased emperors, became of themselves State crimes indicative of disaffection, possibly boding contemplated insurrection against the recognized Government, which but became more seriously aggravated and threatening as the extent of the revolution became apparent and ultimately led to resort to wholesale capital punishment. The fall of the holy city of Jerusalem and the destruction of the sacred Temple despite all efforts of Titus to save it, which had given a death-blow to further temporal hopes and expectations of the Jews, in no measured degree influenced their ultimate acceptance in large numbers of Christ as the Messiah whom they had at first declined to recognize or receive.† Nor was this all; the spirit of proselytism which Christianity engendered, animated its neophytes with an enthusiasm and zeal for its propagation, which inspired and reached even the meanest catechumen. "We were called," exclaims Tertullian (*Ad. Martyr.*, c. iii.) "to be soldiers of the living God from the moment that we responded to the 'baptismal words.' The baptism being in fact regarded much as the military oath of the Roman legionaries by which its recipient

* See on this subject *Supernatural Religion*. Vol. 1., p. 196. According to the testimony of Eusebius in the Diocletian persecution at the beginning of the 4th Century, the number of those who were beheaded in Egypt (where the Christian education of the people had been fostered by the translation of the new testament in the vernacular Coptic) for the profession of Christianity (A. D. 308) amounted to 140,000; whilst there perished in prisons, in banishment and in severe slavery 700,000 more. "History of the Church." From the German of Rev. C. G. Barth. M. A. Moett; Wirtemberg 1839.

"Persecution," remarks a French writer "has this peculiarity, that where it does not revolt, it is because there it was unnecessary; the people who endure it were not worth the dreading. Wherever it is necessary,

it revolts, and there becomes useless. *Constant. Melanges de Litterature* p. 309.

† In this consisted the whole of the earlier test of the acceptance of Christianity. The admission of belief that Jesus was the Christ, the *Messiah*, the promised Saviour of the world being all that was required for baptism. Milman, p.p. 18-19.

"With a large portion of mankind," remarks Dean Milman, "the religion (Christianity) itself was paganism under another form, and with different appellations; with another part, it was the religion passively received without any change in the moral sentiments or habits; with a third, and perhaps the more considerable part, there was the transfer of the passions and the intellectual activity to a new cause.—*History of Christianity*, vol. 2, p. 408.

not only enrolled himself under a distinct banner, but pledged himself to a recognized leader. The new opinions had, however, ere this taken far too deep a root to be extirpated by persecution, a fact at length wisely recognized by Constantine, who determined upon their adaptation and recognition in the exigencies of the situation as a means to the furtherance of his own ends. As a necessary consequence, however, Christianity under the protection of Constantine, whose motives were probably other than purely religious ones, developed many features and doctrines unknown during the earlier persecutions of Severus. Two causes in fact, in the opinion of Draper, now led to the debasement of the religion, in the incorporation of Christianity with paganism, which took place at this period. First, the political necessities of the new dynasty. Second, the policy adopted by the religion itself to secure its spread.

Paganism was modified by Christianity; Christianity by paganism. * While Paganism however leaned for support on the learning of its philosophers, Christianity refused to rest otherwise than on the inspiration of its fathers. The clergy, in whose support the temporal power was arrayed by the Emperor, would brook no intellectual competition. It was thus that there came into prominence what were termed sacred and profane knowledge: thus there first came into presence of each other, remarks Draper, two opposing parties, one relying on human reason as its guide, —the other on revelation. Christianity from a religion had now developed into an organized political system, under the countenance, the sanction, and at length the power of the Roman Empire. Assuming the lost or abdicated sovereignty, it compressed the whole, says Dean Milman, into one system under a spiritual dominion. The Papal, after some interval of disorganization, succeeded the Imperial autocracy over the European world.

Up to this period, however, although the whole Christian system was still comprised in a few simple precepts and propositions, readily comprehended by all, efforts had already been made to render or reconcile its doctrines in more apparent harmony with the teachings and decisions of philosophy. Nor was this strange.

? The conflict of Christianity with Judaism was, remarks Dean Milman, speaking of an earlier period, a civil war; that with Paganism the invasion and conquest of a foreign territory. . . . When Christianity was in the ascendant, it might expel the deities of Paganism from some of the splendid temples, and convert them to its own use; though insensibly many of the usages of the

Heathen worship crept into the more gorgeous and imposing ceremonies of triumphant Christianity, though even many of the vulgar superstitions incorporated themselves with the sacred Christian associations, all this reaction was long subsequent to the permanent establishment of the new religion.—History of Christianity,—vol. 1., p. 425.

Many of the early fathers had themselves been pagan philosophers before they were Christians, and would necessarily bring with them into Christianity some of the philosophical tenets and contentions of their particular sects.* In such portions of their works as are still extant we have ample evidence of this fact, and these serve as fair specimens of the ground taken by the fathers generally for the existence and views of Christianity in their controversies with learned pagans of the day. One interesting extract, from the larger Apology of Justin Martyr, who had passed through the study of Stoic, Peripatetic, Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy before embracing Christianity, may be quoted in extenso—a portion of it having already been given.

“Why are Christians condemned merely for their name without inquiry whether they are malefactors? Let *this* be investigated: then punish the guilty, and let the innocent go free. The Christians are accused of *atheism*; but unjustly. They worship God the Father, the Son, and the prophetic or divine Spirit. They offer indeed no sacrifices, but they believe God requires none. Christians are ridiculed for expecting a kingdom of Christ, but unjustly. The kingdom which they expect is not an earthly kingdom; if it *were*, how could they cheerfully meet death? Christianity is not so totally unlike everything believed by the pagans. The pagans expect a judgment after death, so do the Christians. The former make *Rhadamanthus* the Judge, the latter *Jesus Christ*. The pagans believe that many men were sons of *Jupiter*; Christians believe that *Jesus* was the Son of God. The pagans assert that *Esculapius* healed the sick in a wonderful manner: Christians assert the same of *Christ*, &c. The ground of this correspondence lies in this, that the demons, who are the authors of the pagan religions, and to whom the pagan worship is paid, copied beforehand the history of Christ in order to prejudice the truth. Yet they omitted to copy the *Cross* which is the appropriate sign of the power of Christ (and therefore it is found indispensable in nature, *e. g.* in the yards of a ship). Also by the ascent of *Simon Magus* to heaven, they sought to imitate the ascension of *Christ*, and since the Romans themselves have erected a statue to this *Simon* as a God, they should the more readily do the same to *Christ*. Christianity is *true*. This is demonstrable from the prophecies of the Old Testament, also the prophecies of *Christ* concerning his ascension to heaven, and the destruction of Jerusalem, which have been fulfilled and prove the truth of Christianity. *Christ* is the *Logos* (the *reason* or *intelligence*) of which all men participate: so that every one who had ever lived according to *Logos* (*reason*) was a Christian. The demons whose worship is prostrated by Christianity are the authors of the persecutions against Christians.†”

Upon that much vexed question, the nature of the Christianity personally professed by Constantine, it is not possible that we

* See Bain's *Mind and Body* quoted ante.

The early fathers accepted Oriental and Greek notions of transmissions and pre-existence; or (like Irenæus and Arnobius) made the immortality of the soul depend upon the will of God in his purposes for

the salvation of part of mankind. Both theories describe in nearly the same terms the essence of Deity and the essence of the Soul.

† This summary is quoted from Mosheim's *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern*. Translator J. Murdock. D.D. vol. 1., p. 119.

should enter here. That the earlier laws merely recognized Christianity as one of the legal forms by which the Divinity may be worshipped,* is a point, however, upon which all authorities of any value are apparently now agreed. The syncretistic policy pursued, indeed, but recognised alike the paganism and Christianity of the age; and Constantine, the restorer of pagan temples[†] as of Christian shrines, was at the same time both Pontifex Maximus to the pagans and the recognised supreme head of the Christian Church to the Christians. In the meantime, however, the doctrines of the Church were being gradually elaborated in the course of the strife persistently maintained by its adherents. The Alexandrian philosophy, which had emerged from the contact of Judaism with Hellenic culture, had paved the way for the destruction of the barriers which restricted the moral and religious life of the people and; Christianity had completed the work. † There was indeed an intimate and continuing connection between them which is easily traceable in the Patristic philosophy of the early heads of the Christian Church. It was reserved, however, to the Council of Nice to give the earliest affirmative expression of ecclesiastical sanction to fundamental dogmas of the creed; the various dissenting opinions in regard to which were already distracting the Church. The aid of the civil power was at last thus invoked by Christianity to enforce its dictates. Pious enthusiasm could at length not only shape and expand, but enforce acceptance of its dogmas at will. Alexandria was destined to be the scene of the first open struggle; though the internecine conflicts which had preceded had already torn and dismembered the Church into

* Speaking of the Decree of Milan A.D. 313, issued in the joint names of Constantine and Licinius, Dean Milman remarks:—

“This *divinitas*, I conceive, was that equivocal term for the Supreme Deity admitted by the Pagan as well as the Christian.—Vol. 2, note p. 90.

† “Monotheism as a world-religion” (remarks Ueberweg) could only go forth from Judaism. The triumph of Christianity was the triumph over polytheism, of the religious idea of the Jewish people, stripped of its national limitations and softened and spiritualized. This triumph was completely analogous to that won by the Hellenic language, and by Hellenic art and science, in the kingdoms founded by Alexander the Great and afterwards reduced

under Roman supremacy; only that the struggle in the field of religion was all the more severe and wearisome, as the elements of permanent waste which were contained in the Polytheistic religions were more numerous. When national exclusiveness had once given way to the active commerce of nations and to the unity of the world-empire, it was necessary that in place of a plurality of forms of culture existing side by side, one of them should gradually become dominant, which was the strongest, most elevated or most developed. In other words, that Greek language, art and science, Roman law, (and also for the West, the Roman language) and either Græco-Roman or the (universalized, denationalized) Jewish religion should become predominant.

sects and factions almost innumerable. In the East, Draper justly observes, religious disputations have almost always turned on diversities of opinion respecting the nature and attributes of God ; in the West, on the relations and life of man. There were at this period sufficient subjects of strife. Fierce quarrels had arisen not only respecting the Trinity but regarding the essence of God, the position of the Son, the nature of the Holy Spirit, and the influence of the Virgin Mary. The Bishop of Alexandria in treating of the doctrine of the Trinity had asserted the inseparable *Unity of Substance* ("being of one substance with the Father—") an assertion which had afforded to Arius, a priest of that city, the opportunity of charging him with Sabellianism. The anathema pronounced against Arius by the Nicene Council (A. D. 325.) was duly confirmed by the Emperor, and followed by a sentence excluding the former with all his adherents from all civil as well as ecclesiastical rights, and condemning him to banishment.* Had Arianism then prevailed, it is not improbable that all doctrines based upon the Divinity of Christ might virtually have been eliminated from the Christian religion, and Christianity itself would at this early period of its history, have been reduced to a system whose highest claims on our respect would have been derived from the purer ethics, the more elevated theosophy, or the more spiritual worship which it inculcates as compared with the more ancient religions by which it had been preceded,† and which it was destined to supersede. To this period, it would appear, may be correctly assigned the concentration of interest upon theology. To the fervid imagination of the East is due the incorporation of the intricate systems of dogma and mysticism with the purer morality

* Broughton remarks however as follows :—Arianism did not die with its originator. His party continued still in great credit at court. Athanasius was indeed recalled, and reinstated in his see ; but he was soon removed again, the imperial power making and deposing bishops at will. In short, this denomination continued with great lustre for 300 years. It was the reigning religion of Spain for above two centuries ; it was on the throne both in the East and West, it prevailed in Italy, France, Pannonia, and Africa ; and was not extirpated till about the end of the eighth century.—(*Broughton, Dictionary.*)

Arianism directly opposed the Trinitarian doctrine as contained in the Athanasian creed, viz, that a

divine nature, or a divine person was so united to the human body and soul of Jesus, as to form one person who is both God and man. It was equally opposed to the Sabellian doctrine, which went to affirm that Christ is in all respects the same as the Father, only under a different name or that the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are different names for the same being, the only living and true God ; and to the modern Socinian, or Socinian-Unitarian view that Jesus of Nazareth is a proper human being, but the greatest of all the prophets of God.—*Adam's Religious World displayed.*

† See on this subject *The Ancient British Church*. W. L. Alexander, D.D., F.R.S.

of primitive Christianity, which so rapidly ensued. In the words of the author of "*Supernatural Religion*,"—with lamentable rapidity the elaborate structure of ecclesiastical Christianity, following stereotyped lines of human superstition, and deeply colored by Alexandrian philosophy, displaced the simple morality of Jesus. Doctrinal controversy which commenced amongst the very apostles has ever since divided the unity of the Christian body. The perverted ingenuity of successive generations of churchmen has filled the world with theological quibbles, which have naturally enough culminated of late in doctrines of Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility.*

Upon the vicissitudes of the long continued struggles of the Athanasian and Arian controversy, or the dissensions between Constantinople and Alexandria, it is impossible that we should dwell in the limited space which remains; and we must pass rapidly on to the rise of Muhammadanism. In a previous number of this *Review*,† this subject has been treated at considerable length; by the present writer it will consequently be sufficient here, therefore, merely to quote as briefly as may be view from Draper's of its primitive character, which he contends is that which has long since been adopted by many competent authorities. Sir William Jones, he observes, (following Locke) regards the main point in the divergence of Muhammadanism from Christianity as consisting "in denying vehemently the character of our Saviour as the Son, and his equality as God with the Father, of whose unity and attributes the Mohammedans entertain and express the most awful ideas." This opinion has been largely entertained in Italy. "Dante regarded Mohammed only as the author of a schism, and saw in Islamism only an Arian sect. In England, Whately views it as a corruption of Christianity. It was an offshoot of Nestorianism, and not until it had overthrown Greek Christianity in many battles, was spreading rapidly over Asia and Africa, and had become intoxicated with its wonderful successes, did it repudiate its primitive limited intentions, and assert itself to be founded on a separate and distinct revelation." Within forty

* Dean Milman makes the following just remarks upon this period.

"If Christianity was making such rapid progress in the conquest of the world, the world was making fearful reprisals on Christianity, by enlisting new passions and new interests in its cause. Religion surrendered itself to an inseparable fellowship with those passions and interests. The more it mingles with human affairs, the more turbid becomes the stream

of Christian history. In the intoxication of power, the Christian, like ordinary men, forgot his original character; and the religion of Jesus instead of diffusing peace and happiness through society, might, to the superficial observer of human affairs, seem introduced only as a new element of discord and misery into the society of man."

† No. CXXV. "*Calcutta Review*." July 1876. Art iii., "Muhammad."

years of the death of Muhammad, the unity of God had been enforced at the sword's point in the greater part of Asia, Africa and Europe. The Pyrenees alone proved an obstacle which the Arab races were unable permanently to surmount. The death of Abder Rahman at the great battle between Tours and Poitiers ultimately decided the issue, "and compelled the Saracens to finally recross the Pyrenees. It was however the institution of polygamy, (in the opinion of Draper,) based upon the confiscation of the women in the vanquished countries, that secured for ever the Mohammedan rule. The children of these unions gloried in their descent from their conquering fathers. No better proof can be given of the efficacy of this policy than that which is furnished by North Africa. The irresistible effect of polygamy in consolidating the new order of things was remarkable. In little more than a single generation, the Khalif was informed by his officers that the tribute must cease, for all the children born in that region were Mohammedans, and all spoke Arabic."

The influence of the Nestorians in Syria like that of the Jews in Egypt was however destined to exercise, during centuries of violence and barbarism, no unimportant influence in determining the direction of the conquerers' minds towards philosophy and science, when the ferocious fanaticism of the Saracens was transformed into a passion for intellectual pursuits. The pre-existence of a natural aptitude of the Arab races for civilization may be admitted; yet that within less than half a century so remarkable a change should be capable of accomplishment, is in itself indicative of exceptional capacity which but required direction to effect its development. Spain, which for seven long centuries was subject to the sway of the Musalman sceptre, although of all the countries which owned the authority of the caliphs, the most remote from the seat of their empire, appears to have been the first in the cultivation and encouragement of science. Averroes, (Abul Walid, Mohammed Ibn Achmed, Ibn Roschd), translated and expounded Aristotle at Cordova. Benzaid and Abul-Mander wrote histories of their nation at Valencia; and even an Arabian encyclopædia was compiled under the direction of Muhammad-Abu-Âbdallah at Granada. The works of Ibn-el-Beithar on botany and lithology, the studies of Al-Rasi and Avicenna in philosophy, and more particularly in medicine, and of Al-gazel and others, gave an important impetus to the learning of the age. Rhetoric and poetry were attentively studied. "It would be difficult to point out," remarks Lockhart, "in the whole history of the world, a time or a country where the activity of the human intellect was more extensively, or usefully, or gracefully exerted, than in Spain when the Mussulman sceptre yet

retained any portion of that vigour which it had originally received from the conduct and heroism of Tarifa." *

In "the golden prime of the good Haroun Alraschid," to every mosque was attached a school at which the Christian youth studied freely and honorably at the feet of Jewish physicians and Muhammadan philosophers. While in the Augustan age of Asiatic learning which ensued during the Khalifate of Al-Mamun, Bagdad, the capital of the khalifate, became the centre of science, the resort of all the learning of the time. The khalifs were patrons of letters. Pilgrims flocked to Bagdad, the central station of the caravan routes from Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Persia and the West coast of Africa; and merchants sent their sons to travel under convoy, to visit distant cities, to attain instruction from teachers eminent in science and art. A higher degree of civilization was thus attained than had ever before existed.† In letters, remarks Draper, the Saracens embraced every topic that can amuse or edify the mind. Science was cultivated after the manner of the Alexandrian rather than the European Greeks. It mattered not in what country a man was born, nor what were his religious opinions, his attainment in learning was the only thing to be considered. According to a saying attributed to Al-mamun, "they are the elect of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties; the teachers of wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators of this world, which without their aid would again sink into ignorance and barbarism."

Under the designation of Averroism the theories of emanation and absorption were however destined to come specially into prominence, and the advance from the anthropomorphic ideas of the nature of God, to the more philosophical conceptions of

* *Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic.* J. G. Lockhart. John Murray, Albermarle Street, London, 1842.

† On this subject see Yeats' *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce* — also his *Technical History of Commerce*.

"Arab commerce also in the middle ages attained great magnitude. The Arabs possessed for a time the entire maritime commerce of the Mediterranean. . . . A community of language throughout their possessions in Europe, Asia and Africa promoted social intercourse . . . Their prosperity surpassed that of the ancients both in its extent

and in its diffusion. While civilization was barely kept alive by the monks in Germany, Gaul and Britain, and the inhabitants were in a state of rude poverty: treasures of gold and silver, works of art, and splendid palaces abounded in the cities of the Arabs, thus realizing in a great degree the marvels of Arabian fiction. Jewish, Persian and Spanish scholars were welcomed at the courts of the Caliphs. The writings of the Greek philosophers were translated and eagerly read; astronomy and chemistry were studied, and it is to the Arabs we owe our numerical system and the science of algebra."

the Indian theology, had paved the way for what is termed the second conflict of Science with Religion, that respecting the nature of the soul. With Averroes who died in 1198, Arabian philosophy had been extinguished, and liberal culture sunk under the exclusive rule of the Koran and of dogmatics. Before his death he had been accused of cultivating the philosophy and science of antiquity to the prejudice of the Muhammadan religion, was robbed of his dignities and banished to Elisana (Lusena). * Averroism, contends Draper, is nothing but philosophical Islamism; it was introduced into Europe by the Spanish Arabs. Into Italy, Germany, France and England it silently made its way. Upon the overthrow of the Arabian dominion in Spain, the papacy first undertook its more serious efforts for its forcible suppression.

Space will not permit that we should closely trace or follow the interesting history of the various theories of the soul held in the earlier ages; and those desiring to pursue further this branch of our subject, are referred to the comprehensive and able sketches of Professor Bain from which we have already quoted, † and we must press on to the highest stage of the development of the scholastic philosophy which was headed by Thomas Aquinas (a pupil of Albertus Magnus) which took place in the thirteenth century, and of whom it has been affirmed by Ueberweg, that he effected the most perfect accommodation that was possible of the Aristotelian philosophy to ecclesiastical orthodoxy, while he yet distinguished the specifically Christian and ecclesiastical doctrines of revelation, from those doctrines which could be possibly justified on rational grounds. His conceptions in regard to the soul touched (according to Bain) the utmost limit of abstraction in the line of dualism. Repudiating the Platonic doctrine of pre-existence, he maintained the immortality of the soul as flowing from its immateriality. The soul is pure form, entirely without matter. "Matter perishes through being separated from its form; but it is impossible that form should be separated from itself; wherefore, it is impossible that existing form should cease to have being."

* Ueberweg.

† The course from Aristotle to Aquinas is thus given by Bain as a summary from Ueberweg:—

"Aristotle regarded as form (his highest abstraction and antithesis to matter) immaterial, and yet individual, the Deity, and the active *Nous* or Intellect—the only immortal part of the human soul; leaving uncertain, the relation between this immortal *Nous* and the mortal compound of soul and body. Among his immediate followers, Dicaearchus and

Strato, the prevailing view was that all Form is imminent in matter. Alexander, the Aphrodisian, ascribes to Deity, but to Deity only, a transcendental existence free from matter and yet individual; he makes the human soul depend entirely on matter for its individual existence. The later commentators, given over to Neo-Platonism, as Themistius, assert the human *Nous* to have the same independent and individual existence as the Deity, and on this side Thomas Aquinas ranges himself."

To revert however to the conflict which was involved in the spread and inculcation of the doctrines of Averroism. The union of Church and State instituted by Constantine, but more fully developed under the tyranny of Theodosius, (in itself as we have seen a relic of Paganism,) had practically never ceased, and this co-operation and amalgamation of the secular with the ecclesiastical power, has enabled the latter at various periods of the world's history to attempt the forcible and arbitrary suppression of advanced thought in a manner which would otherwise have been incapable of accomplishment. It was reserved to Innocent IV. to establish in the mediæval ages the special and terrible tribunal of the Inquisition, (a general and papal tribunal distinct from the previous tribunals of the Bishops, and the subtle brain of Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, was called into requisition to invent tortures sufficiently horrible to eradicate the fast-spreading heresies of Averroism, deemed dangerous to the stability of the Church, * and to aid the stern relentless measures of extermination, which led to the ultimate overthrow of Averroism in Europe and the expulsion of the Jews and Moors from Spain. † The writings of Averroes, however, "had been made known to Christian Europe by the translation of Michael Scott in the beginning of the thirteenth century, but long before his time, the litera-

* Yet in the chronicles of Spain,
Down the dark pages runs this stain,
And nought can wash them white again,
So fearful is the tragedy.

And Torquemada's name, with clouds o'er-cast,
Looms in the distant landscape of the past,
Like a burnt tower upon a blackened heath.
Lit by the fires of burning woods beneath!
LONGFELLOW

† Llorente, the historian of the Inquisition, computes that Torquemada and his collaborators in the course of 18 years, burnt at the stake 10,220 persons, 6,860 in effigy, and punished otherwise 97,321. Draper.

The following excerpt regarding persecutions for religious belief is not uninteresting or uninstructional.

Grotius computes that in the persecutions of Charles V., no less than 100,000 persons perished at the hands of the executioner. In the Netherlands alone, after the promulgation of the edict against reformers, 50,000 persons were hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burned. During the reign of Philip II., the Duke of Alba boasted that in 9 years his executioners had destroyed 36,000 in the Low Countries.

At the Massacre of Paris (St. Bar-

tholomew's) at which Charles IX. personally assisted, 10,000 were killed. The *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung in the chapel of the Vatican, and a Papal Bull directed a Jubilee to be held throughout France (7th December 1512) in commemoration "of the happy success of the King" against his heretic subjects. In Queen Mary's reign there were executed in England at the stake, one archbishop, 4 bishops, 21 ministers and nearly 300 persons. In 1640 papal bigotry occasioned the butchery in Ireland of 40,000 protestants; while Louis XIV. (the most Christian King and the Eldest Son of the Church) starved a million Huguenots at home and sent another million grazing in foreign countries, &c.

As the author of "Supernatural Religion" justly observes, "Have the thousands who have been consigned to the stake by the Christian Church herself, for persisting in asserting what she has denounced as damnable heresy, proved the correctness of their views by their suffering and death? See vol. I., p. 196.

ture of the West, like that of Asia, was full of these ideas. We have seen how broadly they were set forth by Brigena. The Arabians, from their first cultivation of philosophy, had been infected by them; they were current in all the colleges of the three khalifates. Considered not as a mode of thought, that will spontaneously occur to all men at a certain stage of intellectual development, but as having originated with Aristotle, they continually found favor with men of the highest culture. We see them in Robert Grosseteste, in Roger Bacon and eventually in Spinoza. Averroes was not their inventor, he merely gave them clearness and expression. The Lateran Council of 1512, condemned the abettors of the doctrine of the eternity of matter and the unity of human intellect as heretics and infidels. Foremost among the abettors (according to Dante) of this school of philosophers in Italy, embracing as it did the most powerful representatives of the Ghibelene party and denounced by the Church as a school of epicureans and atheists, was the Emperor Frederick II., the patron of the Arabian scholars, described by Macaulay as the ablest and most accomplished of the long line of German Cæsars. He was however destined to be unsuccessful in his conflict with the papacy, and with him these doctrines were for the time suppressed in the West. Medicines, Arabic philosophy, Averroism, astrology and infidelity, it has been remarked, had early in the middle ages become synonymous terms, owing to the fact that the Averroistic school, the most decided opponent of the scholastic system in its relation to theology, was mainly composed of physicists and naturalists.* Freedom of thought is not however to be stamped out in blood, and the marvellous and unscrupulous dexterity and ability which had facilitated the encroachments in

* See an *Historical Sketch of Modern Philosophy in Italy*. By Vicepzo Botta, PH. D.

"As a promoter of freedom in philosophy as well as in political science, Dante stands pre-eminent in the history of his country (1265-1321). He was the first to construct a philosophical theory on the separation of the State from the Church in his *De Monarchia*, in which he advocated the independence of the civil power from allecclesiastical control: he also opposed the papal power in immortal strains in his *Divina Commedia*; and under the popular symbols of the age, strove to enlarge the idea of Christianity far beyond the limits to which it was confined by the scholastics. Petrarch (1304-74) bold-

ly attacked scholasticism in every form, denounced the church of Rome as the impious Babylon which has lost all shame and all truth, "with his friend Boccaccio, devoted himself to the publication of ancient MSS. and labored throughout his life to excite among his contemporaries an enthusiasm for classic literature. His works *De vera Sapientia*, *De Remediis Utriusque Fortune*, *De Vita Solitaria*, *De Contemptu Mundi*, blending Platonic ideas with the doctrines of Cicero and Seneca, were the first philosophical protest against the metaphysical subtleties of his age. Thus the fathers of Italian literature were also the fathers of the revolution which gave birth to modern philosophy." *The Age of the Renaissance*. p. 262.

the Western world of the ecclesiastical upon the civil power, was destined to receive a check, (from which it is only now recovering) in the Reformation, which, towards the close of the middle ages at length burst the bonds of papal supremacy, and inflicted a formidable blow upon the papal aggression and power. At the close of the struggle, it was found that Northern Europe was lost to Roman Christianity. Over the slow growth of mediæval mysticism in the 14th and 15th centuries in Germany, it is impossible that we should linger (although its influence upon the further development of science, down to the most recent times, is strongly and ably contended for by Lassen) * and it is necessary that we should bring our remarks to a conclusion.

Whatever may be the point of view from which we may be disposed to regard the continued aggressive advancement of the Church of Rome in the present day there is one fact which must be patent to all and cannot indeed judiciously be ignored, nor will it admit of denial; namely, that the great principle of the Reformation has not prevailed to shake the wide-spread attachment to the system of religion "which has its home in Italy, and its seat on the seven hills"; and we have had significant demonstration of this fact afforded us in the recent appointments in the Romish hierarchy, both in the Old World and in the New. We cannot, therefore, but be of opinion that our author has perhaps rendered somewhat scant justice to the vast efforts made at internal purification within the Church herself, from time to time, but particularly about this period when thoroughly aroused to a sense of impending danger by the secessions of the reformation. As has more justly been urged by Macaulay, two reformations were indeed actually in progress at the same period, the one external of doctrine, the other internal of manners and discipline; and whilst the former was being rapidly pushed forward in the North of Europe the latter was evincing an almost parallel vigor and activity in the South. The profound policy of the Church of Rome which has ever been "the very master-piece of human wisdom, was in fact fully equal to the occasion when once awakened to full perception of the seriousness of the crisis. In the Bologna commission, nominated by Paul III. to search out the abuses of the Church, and of which Cardinals Caruffa, Contarine, Pole and Sadolet were the recognised heads, we have evidence of this fact, whether or not it be true as has been urged as opposed to the sincerity of the movement, that on Caruffa's advancement to the Papal throne; (as Paul IV.) he was the first to place his own advice in the Expurgatory Index, or that Pius II. when he attained a like dignity strongly censured the liberal opinions to which he had

* See. pp. 467. et Seq.

given expression when simply *Aeneas Sylvius*. In the view of Macaulay, at this epoch in fact the whole spirit of the Church of Rome underwent a change. From the halls of the Vatican to the most secluded hermitage of the Apennines, the great revival was everywhere felt and seen. All the institutions anciently devised for the propagation and defence of faith were furnished up and made efficient. Fresh engines of still more formidable power were constructed. Everywhere old religious communities were remodelled and new religious communities called into existence. Within a year of the death of Leo the order of Camaldoli was purified. The Capuchins restored the old Franciscan discipline, the midnight prayer and the life of silence. The Barnabites and the society of Somasca devoted themselves to the relief and education of the poor. To the Theatine order a still higher interest belongs. Its great object was the same as that of our early Methodists, namely to supply the deficiencies of our parochial Clergy. The Church of Rome, wiser than the Church of England, gave countenance to the good work. In the great Catholic reaction Ignatius Loyola indeed bore much the same part as that of Luther in the Protestant movement. In the "order of Jesus" was concentrated the quintessence of the Catholic spirit," and the history of the order of the Jesuits whose members were termed in the Bull of Pius VII, "the vigorous towers necessary to the laboring ship of the Church," is the history of the great Catholic reaction. Within 50 years, remarks Macaulay, "of the day on which Luther publicly burnt the Bull of Leo before the gates of Wittenberg, Protestantism attained its highest ascendancy, an ascendancy which it soon lost and has never since regained." On the other hand from the time of Gregory VII. down to that of Pius IX., whose "Letters Apostolic" re-constituted the Romish hierarchy in England, there has been one almost unbroken chain of progressive and aggressive advance. That such has been equally the case with Protestantism it would be futile to attempt to plead. In England, however, with the Revolution, it is now realized there came a deep and permanent change over the whole temper of the English people in regard to religious thought. With it, as has been justly observed by an able modern historian, modern England begins. "Influences, which had up to this time moulded our history, the theological influence of the reformation, the monarchical influence of the new kingship, the feudal influence of the Middle Ages, the yet earlier influence of tradition and custom, suddenly lost power over the minds of men. We find ourselves all at once among the great currents of thought and activity which have gone on widening and deepening from that time to this. The England around us is our own England, an England whose chief forces are industry and science, the love of popular

freedom and of law ; an England which presses steadily forward to a larger social justice and equality, and which tends more and more to bring every custom and tradition, religious, intellectual, and political, to the test of pure reason. Between modern thought, or some at least of its more important sides, and the thoughts of men, before the Restoration, there is a great gulf fixed. * * From that time to this, whatever differences there may have been as to practical conclusions drawn from them, there has been a substantial agreement as to the grounds of our political, our social, our intellectual, and our religious life."

From the expiring civilization of ancient Rome to its resurrection and restoration in Italy in the fifteenth century, there may be witnessed a long period of slumber and darkness. In the latter part of the sixteenth and the earlier portion of the seventeenth century, may be traced the earliest inceptions, amongst English minds, of unbiased original investigation in the higher fields of thought ; the commencement in fact of emancipation from old restraints and prejudices : and though there might be some danger inherent in the rapidity with which vast changes in the currents of human thought so quickly ensued, we cannot but recognise that the latter have, in our own day directly led up to, and resulted in, the gradual exchange of the generalisations of science for the old empiricism, which for so many centuries barred the road to all farther progress of the human race.

WILLIAM. B. BIRCH.

ART. V.—THE WASTES AND WATERWAYS OF CHITTAGONG.

CHITTAGONG, as a land of tea and tobacco, has of late years been rising into importance. The rich alluvial soil of the narrow valleys, with which both the Chittagong and Arracan Hill Tracts are intersected, has been found well-suited to the growth of tobacco. The Chittagong district has shown such progress in tea cultivation as to leave no doubt that it possesses great capabilities in that direction. There are still many parts, admirably suited to the growth of the tea plant, where as yet no pioneering planter has penetrated. Especially is this the case in the low, forest-covered hills, which now present an almost impassable barrier between the head-quarters of the Cox's Bazar subdivision, in the Chittagong district, and the head-quarters of the conterminous subdivision of Mangdu, in the district of Akyab. That portion of the Chittagong district is as wild, as unopened, as uncivilised, as sparsely populated, as unbridged, unroaded, and uncanaled, as it was when, upwards of a hundred years ago, it first fell under British rule. For the most part, it wears to-day the mask of a dreary, forest-covered waste. But, beneath the forest tree and jungle, its virgin soil contains the germs of great wealth. It wants but a little Government fostering and the energy of a few British planters to turn it into a land flowing with milk and honey.

The northern boundary of the Cox's Bazar subdivision lies some forty miles south of the town of Chittagong. The subdivision extends thence nearly a hundred miles southward, being a narrow strip of alluvial soil intersected by low hills and backed by the low mountain ranges, which, running parallel to the sea face, form the base of the lofty watershed which separates Ava from Chittagong. The southernmost part of the subdivision is a narrow, hilly strip of land, some four miles broad and thirty miles long, cleft from the mainland by the waters of the Naaf—a broad estuary. To the east of the Naaf marches the Mangdu subdivision of the Akyab district.

Although tea cultivation has of late years spread greatly in the northern portion of the Chittagong district, the difficulties of communication which exist in the Cox's Bazar subdivision, have caused planters, with the exception of one enterprising individual, to shun that locality. Yet, by reason of its more favorable rainfall, it may be said to possess advantages for tea cultivation superior to those of which the northern portion of the district can boast. The road cess, which is now being introduced in the Chittagong district, will ensure the gradual improvement of communications, but there is such an absence of roads and they are so much wanted on all

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sides that, for many years to come, it will be impossible with the most careful husbanding of resources to complete even the more important of the main routes in the more populous parts of the district.

Save natural waterways, the Cox's Bazar subdivision is unpierced by a single route along which trade can find its way. Those waterways are the rivers Mátátori, Bágkháli, and Rezu, which, debouching from the hills in the order named, (the Mátátori being the most northern) intersect the subdivision on their way to the sea. They maintain a distance of about twenty miles from each other, and are separated by low forest-covered hills, at the base of which on either side is to be found a margin, some two or three miles broad, of rice fields gently sloping to the river. These rivers being unconnected, boats passing from one to another have to put out to sea. The coast, where unsheltered by islands, lies exposed to the full force of the monsoon; and, save for a very small portion of the year, navigation for country boats along its face is almost as impossible as it is unsafe. Even at the quiet time of the year, boats often have to lie for days at the river mouth and wait for a specially favorable opportunity. To the south, the subdivision has the Naaf estuary, which, down as far as the head-quarters of the Mangdu subdivision, on the opposite shore, can be used by ordinary country boats for a considerable portion of the year. But the trade of this part being mostly towards the town of Chittagong, boats laden with rice, the main item of export, or with salt, the main item of import, have to face the open sea and round the Teknaaf promontory, in which the narrow peninsula of the Cox's Bazar subdivision terminates. This is at all times a hazardous, and at most times an impossible, undertaking for small craft, for it means a two-days run without the chance of a harbour of refuge should a blow come on.

As for roads, there are practically none in the subdivision. In the fine weather the sea beach affords, throughout the greater part of the length of the subdivision, a passage for foot travellers. It is by this route that the majority of the fifty thousand men travel, who annually leave the Chittagong district for three or four months to help the Arracanese in ploughing and reaping, or the Akyab merchants in their godowns. A short road of ten miles runs east from the head-quarters of the subdivision to Ramu, where is situated the one tea garden, a considerable Mugh and Bengali town, and a Telegraph office. This road is, however, to a great extent unbridged, and is impassable in the rains.

But the subdivision does boast the remnants of a road, running north and south, which, even in its ruins, dwarfs to insignificance the tracks furnished by our engineers of to-day. During the first Burmese war there sprang into existence, probably under the

auspices of forced labour, a road, which, judging from its mutilated carcase, must indeed have been a mighty work. Scorning to search for a gap through which to creep, it flung itself on the low hills through which it had to pass, and, declining to climb, it clove them with deep broad cuttings, which the continued action of hill torrents on the sides and roadway has not yet made useless for foot or horse traffic. It traversed the valley land on either bank of the rivers with embankments ten feet high and roadways thirty feet broad. Though floods and rains have, for the most part, hacked and overthrown these great works to the verge of obliteration, a happy accident has here and there left them still showing some semblance of their former selves. The remains are now, however, useless except as affording to troops of foot travellers a track through the forest wilds. The solitary traveller finds his passage barred by the risks and fears of a long unbroken solitude.

Such, then, are the means of communication existing in the Cox's Bazar subdivision. It follows that, except along the river valleys, the population must be very scanty and cultivation almost absent. True, here and there, midway between the rivers, there is a lonely village around which there has been some breaking up of the soil. But these isolated settlers wage an unequal and discouraging struggle. The loss of the humble conveniences of their ordinary life, the lack of markets for their produce, and the encroachments of wild animals make them dispirited and irresolute. The toil and risk of long and lonely journeys, and the small dribblets in which, at a great expenditure of time, they can carry their produce to market, debar them from extending cultivation beyond that which is sufficient for their immediate wants. There are, consequently, large areas fit for rice cultivation, which are yet uncultivated. Still larger areas fit for tea cultivation, and as yet untouched, await the coming of British enterprise.

When to these considerations it is added that a large portion of the Cox's Bazar subdivision is an estate in the immediate possession of Government, it will be easy to understand that some Government outlay on opening up routes for traffic would bring in a rich return. Under such influences, it may safely be concluded, that much land would be reclaimed for the cultivation of rice and tea. Tea gardens and hamlets would call into existence the civilisation and markets necessary for the supply of their wants. The most beneficial and most feasible scheme for opening up these backward parts would be a navigable canal, which, connecting the several rivers by traversing the intervening wastes, would terminate, on the south, in the Naaf estuary, and, on the north, would be in communication with the town of Chittagong. The southern

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part of the Chittagong district and the northern part of Akyab would thus be linked by a series of sheltered waterways to the civilisation of Bengal, of which the town of Chittagong may now be said to be the most southern outpost. A cheap and sheltered water route, uniting the two civilisations of Bengal and Burma, could not fail to benefit both provinces. The direct benefit which would accrue to the wastes traversed by such a canal, would be represented by the whole difference between savagery and civilisation.

Trade between the conterminous districts of Chittagong and Akyab is now almost wholly confined to the seaborne traffic of their capitals. What is wanted is a route between those centres of commerce which shall be possible at all or most times of the year to a smaller, ruder, and more fragile kind of craft than that which alone can brave the dangers of the sea:—a route which shall at the same time communicate its civilising influences to the broad wastes of Southern Chittagong and Northern Akyab, by peopling and reclaiming those virgin regions which so long have stood aloof from contact with the world.

The Mátamori river—the most northern in the Cox's Bazar subdivision—is already placed by a navigable canal in direct communication with the river Karnaphuli at Chittagong. The effect of that canal in stimulating trade, the spread of cultivation, and the opening out of tea gardens has been marked. Owing to the direct and cheap communication thus afforded, and the ready market for surplus supplies thus placed within easy reach, rice is generally more than twenty per cent. dearer to the north of the Mátamori than it is farther south, where surplus stocks are in some places almost unsaleable.

The mouth of the Mátamori is about fifteen miles north of the mouth of the Bágkháli river, on the left bank of which stands the head-quarters of the Cox's Bazar subdivision. But the intermediate space would scarcely need a canal, for the islands of Moiscal and Kutubdea so shelter the narrow channel which connects the mouths of the two rivers, that it can be traversed by all boats in the quiet season, and by fair-sized boats in stormy weather. Nor does this channel involve a circuitous route, as the Bágkháli, for its last ten miles runs almost due north, and so forms a direct continuation of the channel.

The line of canals, by which the mouth of the Mátamori is connected with the Karnaphuli at Chittagong, is maintained at the cost of the district road fund, to the credit of which is passed, year by year, the amount for which the farm of the canal tolls is sold. The income thus realised leaves a handsome nett surplus to the credit of the road fund. The canals have been constructed on a cheap but efficacious method, and, except during periodical closures necessitated for the clearance of the silt, which, owing

to the absence of locks, finds its way into the canals, the traffic on them is brisk throughout the year. The tidal creek which runs north from the mouth of the Mátámeri has been joined by a short cutting to the tidal creek which runs south from the river Sangu, a river running from east to west about twenty miles north of the Mátámeri. The Sangu is then crossed, and a tidal creek running northwards is entered and followed for some fifteen miles, where, by a cutting a few miles long, it is joined to a tidal creek running south-east from the Karnaphuli at a point just opposite the town of Chittagong, which stands on the right, or northern, bank of that river.

What is left to be done in order to afford a safe and cheap water route for country boats and country produce, between the civilisation of Burma and the civilisation of Bengal is, to connect the tidal waters of the river Bágkháli with the tidal waters of the river Rezu, and those of the Rezu with the estuary of the Naaf. Local rumour has it that, several years ago, a survey for some such route was suddenly commenced and as suddenly given up before completion. Records of such a survey were searched for in the local offices, but were not forthcoming. The wild woodsmen, whom I met as I followed the path through the forest, and an intelligent headman of a village, were my first and last informants on the subject. Their story ran, that years ago they had attended on a strange Babu accompanied by a strange instrument, but whence he came or whither he went they knew not. He had spoken to them of the probability of a canal; some of the village headmen had agreed to supply labour; and there, so far as they knew, the matter had begun and ended.

Following the Bágkháli for about ten miles from its mouth upwards, one travels almost due south, and then, quitting the main stream and turning a point to the east of south, one follows the course of a small hill affluent. This is for a short way tidal, and then dwindles into a small rivulet. After passing through two miles of gently sloping rice land, the bounds of cultivation are crossed and the forest is entered. The stream, which becomes much swollen during the rainy season, has already cut for itself, through the low hills, a deep and, in many places, broad ravine. For the purposes of a canal this would have to be much deepened and widened. The supply of fresh water thus afforded would do much, if carefully husbanded in the canal, towards supplementing any deficiency midway between the meeting of the tides. The cutting through the hills would not be a work of any very great difficulty or expense, for even at the apex of the low watershed which, reached after passing through some three miles of forest, separates the valleys of the Bágkháli and the Rezu, the excavation would hardly exceed forty feet in depth, even if the

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level of the canal throughout the cutting were not raised by locks. Whether the supply of water afforded by the hill streams would be sufficient to admit of this, latter course being adopted is doubtful.

Passing over the watershed, an affluent of the Rezu is immediately struck. It runs south, through two miles of forest and then through some two miles of rice land, until it reaches the Rezu. At this point the waters are tidal. Thus the connecting link between the tidal waters of the Rezu and the Bágkháli would be about nine miles in length,—I write from memory more than a year old, and in all details may not be quite accurate,—while the Bágkháli extremity would have to be deepened for some further distance.

The Rezu once reached, its course must be followed in a south-westerly direction for three miles, to a point where it receives a considerable affluent from the south. This affluent must be followed in a south-easterly direction for some five miles, throughout which it is a broad tidal stream. It then takes an easterly bend towards its source in the hills, and so must be quitted. But only six miles are now left before the waters of the broad Naaf estuary are reached. The land through which this portion of the canal would run is mostly a low-lying swamp, the natural outlet from which to the south has gradually become blocked by fallen timber and accumulated forest debris. This land, if drained by a canal, would become valuable.

If such an undertaking as has been proposed were limited to a work of the size necessary for country boats, its cost would not be great, while the gain in revenue from reclamations would by itself be considerable. The great stimulus given to trade and agriculture in the parts through which it would pass, as well as along the shores of the Naaf, would be a result equally profitable to the State and beneficial to its subjects. The districts of Akyab and Chittagong, now, in spite of their conterminous boundaries, almost complete aliens, would become knit together by the bonds of trade and mutual intercourse.

But, having brought those regions into communication with the civilisation and trade of the local capitals, it would become all the more necessary to supply an important link still missing in the chain of water-ways, which should connect the town of Chittagong and all south of it with the other eastern districts of Bengal and with Calcutta.

Chittagong is situated about ten miles from the mouth of the river Karnaphuli, which here runs almost due south, leaving but a narrow strip of land between its channel and the sea-board. Boats journeying northwards from Chittagong have now to proceed down the Karnaphuli to its mouth, and then, after rounding

a very exposed and dangerous promontory, to traverse the open sea for some twenty miles before they gain the shelter afforded by the island of Sandwip. The difficulties of this journey oppose a great obstacle to communication between Chittagong and Eastern Bengal by the cheap and popular medium of country boats. Even in the quiet winter months, such craft have to wait under the lee of Sandwip or within the bar of the Karnaphuli, and watch for a favourable day for the run, while at all other seasons they dare not attempt the passage.

One means of remedying this defect would be the re-alignment and opening of an old, silted-up channel, seven miles in length, which cuts the narrow neck of land lying between the town of Chittagong and the sea coast. Starting from Chittagong and running north-west it comes out on the sea face some eight miles south of the island of Sandwip. This would mitigate, without entirely removing, the present difficulty, for there would still remain eight miles of open sea before the shelter of Sandwip could be reached. If this canal, instead of falling into the sea at that point, were carried ten miles farther north into the large tidal channel at Kumeria, whence a Government ferry now regularly plies to Sandwip, the difficulty would be entirely overcome. A sheltered water route, safe for large country boats at almost all times of the year, could in this manner be provided. Chittagong and Akyab would then be connected by a strong bond with Dacca, Goalundo, Calcutta, and the rest of the Indian world. From tidal water at Chittagong to tidal water at Kumeria, the country along the sea face is a level plain, and presents no engineering difficulty.

The peculiar configuration of the Chittagong district would demand still another navigable canal before its water-routes could be said to have attained to a fair degree of sufficiency. Fifty miles north of Chittagong town lies the river Fenny, which separates Chittagong district, with its peculiarities of land-tenure, language, and hill ranges from the rest of Eastern Bengal. Throughout these fifty miles there runs north and south, a range of hills, low at the extremities and rising to their greatest altitude, just midway, in the peak of Chandranath, which marks the respectable height of 1,200 feet. To the east of this range lie the thanas of Raojan, Hâthâzâri, and Fattickcherry. To the west of it, along the seaface, lie the long narrow thanas of Kumeria and Mirkeserai. The former have no direct access to the latter, save through one or two hill passes, which are very difficult for foot passengers and practically impossible for anything else. Thanas Raojan and Hâthâzâri lie along the north bank of the river Karnaphuli, and, by means of it and its important affluent from the north, by name the Halda, which is tidal and navigable to their northern boundary,

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possess ample means of water communication with the town of Chittagong. But when the more northern thana of Fattickcherry is reached, it is found to be far less advantageously situated. It embraces an area thirty miles long from north to south, and several miles broad. No portion of it, except its extreme south, which is touched by the tidal waters of the Halda, and its extreme north, which rests on the Fenny, is possessed of navigable waterways. The tolerable fair weather road which runs from Chittagong town, northward, through thana Háthásári, at present stops five miles after it has passed the southern boundary of thana Fattickcherry. Cultivation is general for those five miles, for the next ten miles it gradually yields to undrained swamps and jungle-covered wastes. Thence, through the fifteen miles which have to be passed before the narrow margin of cultivation on the banks of the Fenny is reached, there is scarcely any population or any cultivation. Much of this region is very suitable to tea cultivation, but at present it holds only one isolated garden, and that, owing to the absence of land or water communication, does not seem to thrive.

The reclamation of the broad wastes of thana Fattickcherry could only be effected by the opening of a navigable water-route throughout its length, from the tidal waters of the river Halda to the tidal waters of the river Fenny. The length of such a canal would be about thirty miles. Several large hill streams run north and south throughout this distance. They would supply ample water for a canal. None of the land traversed lies very high, and a system of locked reaches would probably render any heavy excavation unnecessary.

The route thus afforded for trade going northward from Chittagong town or coming southward to it, would in a great measure supersede the necessity for the cheaper route by Kumeria. Its advantages over that route would be its greater safety, its being open at all times of the year to the smallest craft, and its power to reclaim and import civilisation into the wastes of Fattickcherry. Its one draw-back, in comparison with the Kumeria route, is the greater expense which would be involved. The Kumeria route would still be of much use, though it would not then be a matter of the same urgency as it now is.

These are schemes of such importance to the land revenue and to the opening up of a hitherto neglected district, of which Government is to a great extent the landlord, that it would be unfair to require the district authorities to carry them out from their own unaided resources. The funds furnished by the road cess are, and will be for many years to come, urgently needed for the supply of land routes throughout the length and breadth of the district.

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At the present time the resettlement for a long term of years of a large portion of the Government nobad estates in the district of Chittagong is in progress. The largest area of those estates is to be found in the south of the district and in the northern thana of Fattickcherry. These are the parts which would be especially affected and benefited by the carrying out of such schemes as those which have been propounded in this paper. It may be worth while for Government to consider the subject before ratifying a long term settlement in those parts.

The average population of the central and northern portions of the Chittagong district is 600 to a square mile, while in the southern part, or Cox's Bazar sub-division it is only 161. In some of the central thanas of the district the population reaches the high average of 900 to a square mile. This is a purely village population; its density is not equalled by more than ten similarly circumstanced thanas in the whole of Bedgal. For the cultivated area, the population of the district shows an average of more than 1200 to the square mile. With such a population it is no wonder that high rents should obtain, as obtain they do. Rs. 12 per acre is not an uncommon rent, and Rs. 8 a very common one, in the more central and civilised parts; while, in the backwood parts Rs. 6 per acre is not out of the way. It is on account of the narrow limits of their own small holdings that so many thousand adults in the prime of life and manhood yearly troop to Arracan in order to supplement by their earnings for three or four months as hired workmen the yield of their home farm.

The settlement enquiries have already shown that, since the time of the last settlement, large areas have been reclaimed from waste. This is mostly the case in the central parts, whence easy water access to the town of Chittagong exists and where some few roads are to be found. In those parts cultivation is now general and a dense population is crowded. But in the southern parts, and also in the extreme north, means of communication are almost absent; whilst tigers, wild elephants, and wild pig do battle with the isolated bands of cultivators, and not only check their efforts to advance the bounds of their cultivation, but frequently drive them clean out of possession of lands which have already been reclaimed. It follows that, except along the river banks, the population is in those parts very scanty, nor can it be expected to increase and spread until improved communications have cleared the way for civilisation.

The settlement enquiries have also shown that there are now large areas of recent formation along the seaface which are ripe for reclamation. Though naturally hostile to any enquiries which may lead to an increase of the assessment on the cultivated areas, the closely packed population of central Chittagong is eagerly

waiting for the coming settlement officer, to enable them to lap over their present bounds and settle themselves on these new lands. The wealthier among them are anxious to spread out of their central position and undertake reclamations to the north and south. There are, also, in the rich but narrow valleys of the south, crowded villages whose denizens eagerly ask every passing official when the settlement officer is coming to confer on them a right to enter on, settle, and reclaim some of the large areas of culturable waste lying in their neighbourhood and accessible from their present villages. Were the canal in the south opened, there can be no doubt that villages would quickly spring up all along its banks, and that the population from those centres would spread over, reclaim, and cultivate much of the adjoining lands.

I remember seeing a year or two ago a map and pamphlet which had been carefully prepared by a merchant of Akyab. In the short pamphlet he sought to describe how Akyab and Chittagong ought to be the centres of the trade of the eastern Asiatic world. On the map he demonstrated this revelation, which seemed to him to be a truism, by drawing a straight line from Dacca to Akyab through Chittagong, and another straight line from Bombay to Calcutta through Midnapore; by joining Goalundo and Dacca by the same easy process, and lastly and chiefly by drawing a straight line from Chittagong to Pekin through Mandalay. These lines represented the railways of the immediate future. As for engineering difficulties and natural obstacles, he would not hear of them. Money was nothing in the balance against directness. The skill which was equal to carrying a railway through the Alps, another over the Apennines, a third over the the Bombay Ghauts, and a fourth under the English Channel would shrink from nothing, and was, he contended, equal to the construction of a fifth by piercing the two hundred miles of mountains which sever Chittagong from the valley of the Irawaddy. This scheme was meant to dovetail with the railway of the future which, passing along the valley of the Euphrates, will link Karachi to Constantinople. With demure earnestness the projector urged his friends to grasp the present opportunity of buying up land in the vicinity of the towns of Akyab and Chittagong, for assuredly that investment would yield a hundred-fold when all the trade of China, Assam, and Eastern Bengal drained into those two centres of commerce. He recognized that the river on which the town of Chittagong stands is not of sufficient capacity to admit the shipping of the world. Akyab was therefore to become the port of Chittagong.

That gentleman was undoubtedly of a sanguine turn of mind. It was pleasing, until it grew wearisome, to hear him reckon

up in glowing words the golden harvest which would fall into his garner, ere his generation had told its allotted span of threescore years and ten ; yet his appearance showed that he had already passed the bounds which separate youth from age.

By the side of that dazzling golden image my dull clay doll is humble indeed. It is not the extreme points of two vast continents that are to be linked, but the border lands of two counties.

Are these schemes which I have set forth merely the rose-coloured, but impossible and impracticable, visions of a dreamer ? For the welfare of the districts of Chittagong and Akyab, for the gain to the nation by an increased area of productive land, I hope, they may be as practicable as they certainly would be profitable. My dream, if it is one, lacks all bold conception, and unfettered aspiration. It merely seeks to grasp and turn to use every chance favour of nature ; it recognizes that it is bound hand and foot by the trammels of the purse.

T. M. KIRKWOOD.

ART. VI.—THE RENT ENHANCEMENT BILL.* (*Independent Section*).

Minute of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated 18th April 1876.

THE Editors of Magazines published in England are accustomed to complain that they receive too great a supply of verses, and in particular of sentimental rhymes, written by young ladies. Subscribers require very little of this sweet stuff, whereas authors seem to think that they can never compose enough. In India there is a similar difficulty in the very different matter of articles upon the land question, a subject which has quite a fascination for a large class of writers, while upon readers its influence is distinctly repellent. Witness the rows of dust-covered volumes in many a public library, the unsold pamphlets on the shelves of every Calcutta bookseller, the uncut leaves of some of our contemporaries, and possibly, at times, those of our own Review. How many readers will get no further than the title at the head of this paper!—and those, too, men in general tolerant of all subjects, who would at least skim through an essay on the North Pole, or the motion of the Double Stars.

We are aware that it is of but little use to ask that wilful person, the general reader, to look at any thing which does not strike his fancy. And yet we would urge him to attend to this subject, in order to see that justice is done. The stake upon the game is so large, that in the interest of fair play, there should be some lookers-on. We cannot speak with certainty as to the value of the tenant-right of Bengal, but the best estimate we can make is, that it is worth six hundred millions sterling. The present rent, according to the road-cess returns, is about twelve millions, and some three millions are collected in illegal cesses. Experience proves that in the existing state of agriculture, the dues of the tenants cannot be raised much higher than this limit of fifteen millions, without some change in the law. Under a system of competition, on the other hand, it is believed that forty-five mil-

*This article was written rather more than a year ago. Its publication has been delayed by various unavoidable causes. We now put it before our readers, though somewhat late in the day, in the belief that it will be generally regarded as a valuable contribution to the literature of a most important subject. Its conclusions are not altogether in harmony

with the policy which this *Review* has advocated for many years past; and we have therefore placed it in the "Independent Section." But the arguments, by which those conclusions are supported, are conceived in a spirit so fair and so moderate, that we believe they will be read with pleasure, even by those whom they fail to convince.—EDITOR.

lions sterling might be realised.* In fact, the customary rent is but one third of the value of the land, the beneficial interest of the ryots in the soil is twice as great as that of the rent-receivers. The cultivators, as a body, retain thirty millions a year of the profits of agriculture, over and above their expenses and the remuneration of their labour. This capitalised at twenty years' purchase comes to the substantial amount specified,—six hundred millions sterling. The various legislative projects lately put before the Council or the public, are so many schemes for transferring a part or the whole of this property from its present possessors to persons of superior rank and influence, who cannot make good a claim to it under the existing law. Mr. Reynolds, the Revenue Secretary, wishes to take from the ryots and present to the higher tenure holders, half the value of tenant-right, or three hundred millions sterling. The British India Association, a political body representing the landowners of Bengal, asks for three hundred and seventy-five millions. Sir Richard Temple offers to them more than they ventured to demand,—four hundred and twenty millions, but with the proviso that it shall not be obtained all at once. Now we say that these are large sums, and that their transfer from one class to another is a serious matter, deserving the attention, not only of those interested immediately, or officially connected with legislation, but of a much wider circle as well.

The Bengal Legislative Council is the body which will have to deal with the Lieutenant-Governor's proposal. It is known to contain several able men, and on most matters commands considerable public confidence. But with regard to this question it labours under peculiar difficulties, and absolutely requires the assistance of impartial criticism. The distinguished natives who have seats in the Chamber are representatives of the class of landlords; while the ryots have no means of making themselves heard at the Board. Those legislators who are not proprietors are officials. It has long been the boast of the Indian services that its members have shewn impartiality in class questions, and resisted those social and political influences to which our governors in colonies, inhabited by mixed races, have too often succumbed. Still they are human, and are subject to "that last infirmity of noble minds," the desire of praise, and the fear of blame. Now among the natives of Bengal those interested in the enhancement of rent have the exclusive control of all organs of public opinion, their approbation passes for popularity, their dislike

* The area of Lower Bengal is 127,000,000 statute acres, of which about ninety millions are cultivated. The value of the produce of an acre is never taken at less than two

pounds, and is generally put at a higher figure. The rack rent is supposed to be one fourth of the price of the crop, a proportion assumed in the Minute.

for general odium. It is natural that it should be so, for this class includes all that is intellectual or high-placed in the country. Its leaders are men of ability and position, and subordinate tenures have been so multiplied, subdivided, and scattered, that every native of any education or standing possesses some fractional interest in an estate, which would become more valuable if the land rents could be raised. The party thus formed makes the best use of the means at its command for influencing the conduct of public men on all class questions. Any official who opposes legislation in its interest must look for criticism; such as that passed on Lord Mayo and Sir George Campbell, the two Governors whose impartiality in such matters has been conspicuous. This is hardly a subject for just complaint, certainly not for special blame, as in it the Bengal Zemindars only act as do the members of every other party all the world over; and, considered as a political body, they must be praised for a certain courtesy and moderation towards acknowledged opponents. The difficulty is that their influence is not in any way counteracted. The cultivators are still dumb, without newspapers, knowledge, or organisation. Their silent approval must be pleasing but cannot be useful to the statesman; while their inarticulate murmurs of discontent are mistaken for signs of disaffection. We have said that property worth six hundred millions is at stake in the case. We now add that the cause is to be tried *ex-parte*, by a tribunal composed partly of judges who have a direct interest in the success of the only represented litigant, partly of men not unfavourably disposed towards the same side. Is a trial held under such conditions to want the security afforded by a gallery of impartial spectators? We ask the passer-by to step with us into the Court, pause, and add one to the scanty audience.

We will commence by briefly explaining the nature of the change which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal wishes to introduce in the law of Landlord and Tenant. The bulk of the land of the province is cultivated by ryots, who have the right to retain their holdings as long as they pay a certain head-rent. The amount of this rent is fixed by custom, and may be varied either in the direction of enhancement or diminution, according to certain known rules, all founded on the ancient usages of the country. These are three in number. If it is proved by measurement that the farmer holds more or less land than he has hitherto paid for, his dues will be altered in proportion to the excess or deficiency. If an individual pays at a rate lower than that prevalent for land of the same value held by ryots of the same class in places adjacent, he may be assessed on the established standard. And lastly, when it is shown that the value of the crop has

increased or decreased, otherwise than by the agency of the ryot, a change may be effected in the rent proportionate to that which has occurred in the price of the gross produce. It will be seen that the object of these regulations is to preserve and not to destroy the old customs of the country. They are enforced to permit the inequality which arises from false measurement, from encroachments, and the action of rivers, to introduce uniformity where a particular man has been favoured; or to keep the share of landlord and tenant in the fruits of the soil the same, though expressed at different times by varying sums of money. The last case is analagous to that of the assessment of tithes in parts of England, where the amount is periodically adjusted according to the average price of corn: and some perpetual leases have been effected on the same principle.

Sir Richard Temple proposes that we should do away with these customary rates, and substitute for them others founded on competition. He would take as the standard of assessment the rent paid by the tenants-at-will, or on lease, from whom the landlord may exact the full value of the land. The difference between this sum and the present customary rate, which represents the privileged ryot's beneficial interest in his holding, Sir Richard Temple would divide between its possessor and the superior tenureholder, leaving to the former only one-fifth of it, if he has been less than thirty years in occupation, one-third if he has been on the farm for a longer period, and two-thirds if he has held it for forty years. This process of partitioning the ryot's property between himself and some one else may be repeated until his rent is within twenty per cent. of that which might be obtained by competition; a proviso is added that it shall in no case exceed that limit. It is obvious that the maximum would be reached by ryots of the lowest class at the first enhancement, by the intermediate grade at the second, and in the case of the oldest of the tenure-holders at the third turn of the screw. Thus, in the end, all would come to the dead level of twenty per cent. below the competition rate. That is the allowance which is ultimately to be left to all privileged ryots, in lieu of their present right to hold at customary rents.

It will be observed that there is no connexion between the system which Sir Richard Temple professes to destroy, and that which he desires to create. The one is founded on custom, the original source of all rights in landed property, the universal regulator of the position and privileges of the different classes in every oriental country. The other takes for its basis competition, the principle which in such matters is the great antagonist of custom: its rival, the enemy by which it has in so many places been first weakened, and then overthrown. This is no question of the reform,

amendment, or improvement of existing institutions. The demand is, that the old house shall be altogether pulled down, to make room for one completely new. What is sought is no less than a revolution in our land system, in that which has been considered the most vital part of our organisation in India. We do not deny that such radical measures may occasionally be necessary, even when they transfer the bulk of the property of a country. But we think that those who advocate them should make out a strong case.

We have stated the law on the subject of the assessment of the rent of privileged ryots as it has been laid down by the High Court, and is at present administered throughout Bengal. We would not, until recently, have supposed that any objection could have been made to what we have said on this matter, as, although there was much difference of opinion as to what the law should be, there was no question as to the nature of its existing provisions, the point having been settled long ago by competent authority. Sir Richard Temple has, however, started a new theory upon the subject, which, coming from such a quarter, deserves special attention. He believes that there is at present in Bengal no law whatever as to the extent to which enhancement of rent may be carried on occupancy tenures or the principle by which it should be regulated. This position he justifies by a reference to the words of the Code in force on the subject: Act X. of 1859.* There he finds it stated that the old rent shall be considered fair and equitable until the contrary is proved, and that it shall not be altered except on one of the three grounds to which we have referred. But he does not discover any express rule as to the amount by which it may be raised or lowered when one of these three grounds exist. The principle that, as change is permitted only for a certain cause, it shall be made proportionate to the operation of that cause, which is now the controlling "rule of assessment; he does not see explicitly set forth in the statute:—"The section," as the Minute puts it, "leaves untouched the deeper, the broader question, as to what, in reason or justice, ought to be the prevailing rate for occupancy ryots in any district or division of a district; nor is any test afforded by any part of the law for the decision of this question. The laws are, for the most part, silent on the question how rent is to be ascertained and determined in case of dispute." We have acknowledged the principle, that the zemindars should have some share in the increased value of the land, "but what that share is, how it is to be ascertained, how it is to be realized, has not as yet been settled by law," as it would have been, had the principle of proportion been sanctioned. The Lieutenant-Governor therefore supposes

* Re-enacted in Act. VIII of

The Rent Enhancement Bill.

that there is at this moment no rule whatever to regulate the dues to be paid by the majority of the cultivators. In the place for such a law or rule, he finds a blank leaf in the statute book on which he can sketch what he pleases. He may establish a system hitherto unheard of in this part of India, taken from sources altogether unconnected with any custom or usage which has ever been known in Bengal ; as for instance by uniting the the Oudh principle of the allowance of a percentage on the rack-rent, the Punjab division of occupancy ryots into three classes, and the scheme of "splitting the difference" between privileged and non-privileged rates, which an ingenious Secretary invented last autumn out of his own head.

The rights of different classes in real property may have been until very recently in this state of primitive chaos in the newly conquered provinces, with the administration of which Sir Richard Temple has long been familiar, and we can imagine of no work more honorable than that which has in such places fallen to him,—the creation of definite property out of a confused mass of contradictory claims. But we submit, that as applied to Bengal, the statement that there is now no law as to the substantial rights of the majority of land-holders, is on the face of it erroneous. We have left half-a-century behind us the state of society in which such barbaric uncertainty was possible. For a hundred years these provinces have been under the immediate care of the Supreme Government, the seat of a legislature, and of independent courts of justice. The distinguishing feature of our administration has been a respect for the authority of legal decisions, a certain nicety in enforcing the rights of property, and the privileges of its owners. In other parts of India there has been a greater show of executive vigour, public servants have been more conspicuous, and more praised. In none has private industry been so active, so successful, and so well protected as in Bengal. It is here, in what has been called the garden of India, that art has found her seat, commerce her centre, that agriculture has produced her fruits in the greatest variety and abundance,—the rice, the jute, the opium, tea, seeds, and indigo, with which India maintains her external trade. We may add that the love of ascertained law, which characterises the Bengali, and the early settlement of European planters in the interior, have tended to hasten the period of the establishment of definite rights in property. Now, in a country so long settled, so regularly governed, so wealthy, and inhabited by a people so litigious, it is simply impossible that there should be no law as to the proportion in which the annual crop ought to be divided between the classes possessing an interest in it. It is as vain for a Punjab official to seek for so congenial a subject of legislation here, as it would be for the Assam hunter to beat about the fields

of Hooghly in search of a herd of wild elephants. Such things cannot exist in a civilized province. If there was no statute law on the subject, rights would have been defined by the common law. Cases would have been brought, decrees given and appealed against; the High Court would have had to intervene. If its decisions were contradictory, they would have been referred to a Full Bench. This supreme tribunal would then have established a precedent absolutely and for ever binding on all Courts, including those of the Judges convoked to form it. Its finding would have been communicated to the legislature, and if that body did not think fit to alter the law as thus ascertained and established, it would by its abstention have lent the sanction of its authority to the rule.

Such has, in fact, been the history of the origin of the rule of proportion. After the passing of Act X. of 1859, there was a short interval of doubt, such as must necessarily elapse between the promulgation of such a statute, and its authoritative interpretation. Some lawyers raised at the time the difficulty which is now put by Sir Richard Temple, and their view was countenanced by a decision of Sir Barnes Peacock, in the case of Hills and Ishore Ghose; although the Chief Justice did not go the length of declaring that there were no binding customs on the subject in Bengal, limiting himself to the statement that the rule of proportion was not universal, and did not extend to Ishore Ghose. Other Judges were of a different opinion, and the matter came in due course before a Full Bench. This body decided by a majority of fourteen to one (the Chief Justice adhered to his original opinion) that every occupancy ryot possesses the right to hold under all circumstances at proportionate rates, and that such is the true intent and purpose of Act X. of 1859, as ascertained from its different sections, when read together, and in connexion with the previous law, and the customs of Bengal. We need not trouble the reader with the legal argument by which this finding is supported, as in the original it extends over some hundreds of pages, and it scarcely admits of condensation. We refer him to the report of the Thakooranee or great rent case. Let him read the judgments there printed, and in particular that of Mr. Justice, now Sir George Campbell, and we premise that he will not only be convinced of the correctness of the result, but also, while learning more of the nature of our land system than he could in any other way, he will rise with the highest opinion of the fairness, the knowledge, the ability and eloquence which on a fitting occasion our High Court can display. The attention of Bengal was riveted on the case at the time, and the Chief Justice brought the subject to the notice of the Legislature by a formal letter. The framers of Act X. of 1859 declined to interfere. Their inten-

tions had been properly interpreted, and they were perfectly satisfied with the result. Thus the rule of proportion received the sanction of the Supreme Government.

Since that time fifteen years have elapsed during which the occupancy ryots have been in full possession of the right to hold at proportionate rates. In districts where, by the custom of the country, these privileges are alienable, they have been freely bought and sold under the protection of our law, and often by the direct order of our Courts. Everywhere they have been purchased from the Zemindars by the payment of what in England is called a fine, in Bengal "Salami." They have been transmitted from father to son as the most valuable inheritance, and have been made the basis of all the family arrangements of the cultivators. The greater part of the produce of the country is peacefully raised, and reaped, and divided under the system thus established. It is only now, at the last moment, when power has passed into other hands, and the upper classes see their opportunity, that the rule which has so long been at work is declared void, and we are told that Bengal does not possess any law upon the most important subject which can engage the attention of an Indian statesman.

It is curious to observe the way in which those who dislike it mention the decision which defines existing rights. The Hon'ble Kristo Dass Pal spoke of it in Council as "only a Full Bench ruling," as if there could be any higher authority. The Advocate General declared that the fourteen judges (he reduces the number to thirteen by some mistake,) did not answer an argument of Sir Barnes Peacock, to which much weight is attributed; as if the most laboured judgments ever delivered in this country could now be reviewed by subordinate law officers. Sir Richard Temple himself refers to the ruling in a passage which seems to us the perfection of what is now called the art of minimising. After stating that there is no law on the subject, he continues:—"In practice I underst and that the Courts generally try to follow a leading judgment of the High Court, according to which, the new rent should bear to the present value of the produce the same proportion which the old rent bore to the old value of the produce." In these few lines we detect four inaccuracies. The sole binding precedent is spoken of as if it were one of several, the Courts are said to attempt that which they in fact perform, to do in practice what they are bound to do by law, and to follow generally a guide which they have always to accept.

It seems to us impossible to draw any distinction between a rule which has been established in the way we have described and any other part of the law, or to maintain that an interest in land held under such a tenure is less worthy of protection, than other forms of property. We must accept the interpretation put

upon the statutes by those whom we have appointed for the purpose of enforcing and explaining them. And what the law acting through the Courts has declared to belong to any man, that is his. To take it away from him without adequate compensation is confiscation undisguised. Those who wish to alter existing rights in property do not really better their position by attacking the decrees of the judges who have declared that such rights exist. It would be more honest to acknowledge facts, while endeavouring to change them, to confess that the privileged tenure holders do really possess what a Full Bench has found to be their property, even if it is thought necessary, for reasons of State, to take their right away.

Accepting the Government measure as one of confiscation, let us recall for a moment the two well-known objections against such legislation. Every Act which deprives individuals of that which the Courts have declared to belong to them, gives a shock to the whole fabric of society. It forms a precedent for further confiscation. Sir Richard Temple supposes that his Bill will give to the ryot a better title to the twenty per cent. allowance to be left to him than he now has to his tenure, at the customary rate, and the Minute refers to this confirmation of a part of the tenant's rights as a consideration for the withdrawal of the remainder. This seems to us a very mistaken view of the subject. If the Bengal Government confiscates property held under the sanction of the existing law, some other authority may make as free with rights conferred by the Bengal Government. The motives which now prevail will be just as strong hereafter, and the arguments used to carry us a certain length, tell with equal force in favor of going farther still. A new Lieutenant Governor may hold that Sir Richard Temple was unduly liberal when he left to the ryots the privilege for holding at twenty per cent. below the competitive rate. Why should not ten per cent. suffice? Why not five? Why draw any distinction between the occupancy tenure holders and other cultivators? Or, if we suppose that power should, hereafter, pass into the hands of those who favor the claims of the national exchequer against the rights of the zemindars, this precedent will be quoted as a reason for repealing the perpetual settlement. The rates legally established for inferior tenure holders having been broken, there can, it will be argued, be no reason for preserving those of the landlords. The same measure, which they have dealt to others should be given to them, twenty per cent. on the revenue to be obtained by open competition, and no more. Strongly opposed as we are to all interference with vested interests, we would certainly prefer such an Act as the lesser of two evils. Again, if we suppose that the *ryotwari* or tenant-right school should succeed to the Government, en-

encroachments on the right of the zemindar to a proportionate enhancement might be justified by arguments much stronger than any which have been advanced by those who advocate this measure. It is always the interest of the rich, as it is of the State generally, to withdraw the rights of property from the field of political warfare. Fear of retaliation, if nothing else, should prevent them from using a temporary command of the legislature for the purpose of confiscating vested interests opposed to their own: the victors of to-day are the vanquished of to-morrow, and those who refuse quarter very seldom get it.

The other common place on which we must touch, is the individual suffering caused by any disturbance in the existing distribution of property. It has been very properly remarked that the repudiation by a nation of its debt, not only injures the wealthy but also reduces to beggary many widows, orphans, and infirm men, incapable of earning a livelihood. If this is true of a form of investment generally adopted only by those in comfortable circumstances, it applies with much greater force to property such as the right of occupancy, which is almost entirely in the hands of the poor. We have never heard that any statesman has proposed to confiscate the deposits in the Savings Bank, the measure which would in England correspond to withdrawing the privilege of proportionate rates in Bengal. It is fortunately true that where tenant-right prevails the cultivators as a body are well off. But there are among them many families who are either just above pauperism, or who have already sunk a little below that line, and are partly supported by charity. Every famine officer must have seen hundreds of persons in this condition, although holding at very favourable rates. Where a father dies leaving a widow and several young children the survivors can only just pay the customary rent and live; and in the treacherous climate of Bengal such bereavements are even more common than in other countries. It is evident that the effect of a sudden enhancement of rent would be most injurious to such unfortunates. The writer may say that he has never enquired into the condition of a village without finding in it a family which the proposed law would ruin. To put a common case. A cultivator buys at a sale in one of our Courts, the right to hold a farm worth two pounds a year, at a head rent of ten shillings. He dies, leaving this beneficial interest in the tenure, thirty shillings a year, as the sole provision for a widow and three children. She adds to her income by doing a little work in rice-husking, and manages to maintain the family respectably. Under Sir Richard Temple's scheme, the rent is raised to thirty-two shillings, the profit reduced to eight, and the children starve. Such considerations are set aside when we have to enforce existing rights, the legislator then makes the rule which works

best on the whole, and he is not responsible if in particular cases hardship ensue. But we cannot keep the wrongs of individuals out of sight, when the proposal is for confiscation. The private misery which result from such laws is the handiwork of those who pass them, and its guilt is on their heads.

We have now to consider the arguments which have been put forward in support of the Bill. They may be divided into two parts, according as they relate to right, or to utility; as they plead for the justice, or the expedience, of a general enhancement of rent on the new system.

On the ground of equity, it is urged that in 1859 the privilege of occupancy was improperly extended to persons not entitled to it, and that it may therefore be now taken away from them and others or at least its value may be reduced. Thus we find quoted in the Minute a statement of the British Indian Association, a combination formed by the landlords of Bengal for political purposes, that the majority of occupancy ryots were originally in the condition of tenants-at-will, and that it would meet the ends of justice, if a moderate allowance were made to them, in exchange for the tenures subsequently conferred upon them. Sir Richard Temple himself adds, with a confidence which appears strange in the successor to the author of "The Tenure of land in India," that "it will be admitted that Act X. of 1859, by enacting virtually that a ryot of twelve years standing should be held to have an occupancy *status*, did assign to possession of a certain limited duration a significance not previously accorded in Bengal; there is no doubt of this, however just and proper the decision may have been." The proper answer to this assertion is that even if true it proves nothing. If in 1859 the tenants received certain new rights from the legislature, then they are now in legal possession of such rights. We have in India to respect the old Greek saying, that "not even the Gods can recall their gifts." It may be very wrong to grant to tenants-at-will a statutory title, but once it has been conceded it is valid. A great number of zemindars hold their estates under an Act passed in this very year of 1859, and one which they are never tired of denouncing, the sale law. Nearly all the land in Bengal has at one time or another changed hands under the operation of similar statutes. The Permanent Settlement is a well known instance of a regulation which conferred novel rights. The great class of putnidars hold under invalid contracts, subsequently made good by an *ex post facto* law. The title of most tea-planters rests on the Waste land Act. The right of zemindars to enhance their rent on occupancy tenures on account of an increase in the value of the land is derived from a clause in Act X. of 1859. If we commence to question titles on the ground that they are merely statutory,

where are we to stop? The superior tenure holders cannot draw the line just where they please, keeping, as sacred every right conferred on themselves, and confiscating for their own benefit the privileges of the humbler classes. All the vested interests created by Statute are bound up together, and if one is rudely plucked out from the bundle, the others fall to the ground.

We cannot, however, afford to let the matter rest here, as the plea is so frequently repeated by those who have every reason to wish it true, that the accuracy of the historical assertion on which it rests, is now, it seems, taken by the highest authority as a fact admitted. We will therefore in a few words remind the reader of the history of Tenant-Right in Bengal. The regulations of 1797 acknowledge the position of all ryots without exception as tenure-holders at a quit-rent, assessable according to the customary rates of the District, as registered in the office of the Collector. In case of a dispute as to this rate, the Civil Courts were bound to ascertain and notify them. Thus in 1797 we had tenant-right absolute and universal; the question is how far it has diminished since that date. Under Reg. XVIII. of 1812, the Zemindars have the privilege of letting on such conditions as they may think fit, any land which may come into their own immediate possession, such as their private estates (*uliz-jote*), the waste, new accretions, and farms which the old ryots have abandoned, or that have been resumed on account of default in rent, or the failure of heirs. They can in such cases take the full rent, let the land for a term or during pleasure, and guard against the growth of any adverse interest of occupancy by a clause in the lease drafted on the English model of a provision for re-entry, or otherwise. Where these powers have been exercised, tenants-at-will or for a period have been created, a new class, unknown in 1797, unknown to all oriental institutions, the creatures of the western system of contract. No attempt has ever been made to confer any privilege, even the slightest, on such tenants: they may be ejected without receiving compensation for standing crops, much less for permanent improvements. The only ryots as to whose status there has been a difficulty, are those settled on their farms after 1797, without a written contract to show the terms of their tenancy. It has always been acknowledged that, in the absence of any special agreement, their position should be determined by the custom of the country. Such, we may fairly assume, must have been the intention of the parties to the contract; had they wished to form relations of an exceptional nature, different from those regulating the relations of their neighbours, they would have taken care to execute some deed recording their peculiar covenant. But in Bengal it has not been easy to ascertain the nature of this custom. According to some persons, the usage was

that where a ryot reclaimed waste, or received land in his own township, he got with it the right of occupancy; tenancy-at-will being, under the native system, confined to holdings on the Zemindar's own domain, or in a village other than that where the cultivator resided. After a full consideration of the subject we consider that this view is correct. Such a custom prevailed in 1797, as shewn by the regulations, and we find no trace of any subsequent change. It is implied in our older sale laws. On no other supposition can we explain the well-known fact, that ryots freely, and almost capriciously, exchange land in which they have an undoubted right of occupancy for other fields in the same village, without caring to provide that a good title is conveyed with the property received. It is assumed that the mere occupation with the landlord's consent is sufficient. Any intelligent ryot, if questioned, will speak to the existence of the custom. There was in 1859, however, another school, which held that a right of occupancy was, according to usage, acquired by a residence for twelve years, the Mahometan period of limitations. This opinion had been acted upon by the settlement officers in the North-Western Provinces, and had been declared valid by the Sudder Court of Calcutta in a judgment to be found at page 778 of its decisions for 1857. A third party declared that all tenancies in this country should be considered as held from year to year, unless the contrary was shewn. This theory, which has attractions for English lawyers, because it makes out our Bengal customs to be the same as those which have been created in England since the decline of the feudal system, was subsequently embraced by Sir Barnes Peacock; but was in 1857 repudiated by him, as well as by every other member of the Legislative Council.

What we wish to point out is that the framers of Act X. of 1859 examined the question as to what ryots possessed occupancy rights in a judicial spirit, seeking not to alter but to ascertain and declare the existing law; and that the opinion which they in the end adopted was of the nature of a *via media* between two extreme theories. At first they accepted without reserve the more liberal view, that to which, as we have said, our own judgment inclines. The provision that all resident ryots possess occupancy rights, was inserted in the Bill as drafted, read twice in Council, and submitted for the opinion of local officers. Mr. Halliday, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. G. Sconce, the Sudder Court judge, and other great authorities reported in favor of the twelve years rule. It was adopted by the Select Committee of the Legislative Council which included Sir Barnes Peacock, and Mr. Currie, for reasons which they explained in the following passage of their report:

Sec. VI. "The laws in force speak of *Khudkhast* ryots as

possessing rights of occupancy, and in some places the word *Khudkhast* seems to be considered as synonymous with resident. Resident was therefore the word used in the original Bill. But it has been pointed out by the Western Board that residency is not always a condition of occupancy, and it appears after much inquiry it was prescribed by an order of the Government of the North-Western Provinces in 1856, as most consistent with the general practise and recognised rights, that a holding of the same land for twelve years should be considered to give a right of occupancy. We have followed this precedent, and altered the section accordingly."

This plain statement is quite conclusive as to the intentions of the legislators of 1859. They meant the statute to be on this point purely declaratory, founded on "general practice and recognised right," as ascertained after close enquiry. The case of those who now say that they attached undue value to residence for a limited period is, that the persons appointed twenty years ago to enquire into the then existing customs were mistaken on a point of fact. We also believe, though less confidently, that there was an error, that the definition chosen at first, was better than that by which it was afterwards replaced. But we would not ground a claim for occupancy rights on behalf of resident ryots of less than twelve years' standing on our belief that they should have got them in 1859, nor would we now ask that they should receive any compensation. And this because it appears to us that the finding, on the point of fact, should under the circumstances be final. It was made by competent authority, after due enquiry; it was of the nature of a compromise; it has stood unquestioned for years. Is it prudent, is it moderate, is it statesmanlike, to revive old controversies, which the world had supposed to be laid at rest for ever! To refuse to be bound by any decision, no matter how solemn, or ancient! We do not dwell upon the fact, that, though the privilege of the ryot was not created in 1859, that of the zemindar was. The right of a superior tenure-holder to any share in the increased value of land held at a quit-rent was never heard of in Lower Bengal, until it unexpectedly arrived one morning with the Simla mails, it having been thrust into the Bill at the last moment, and passed without explanation or discussion. We do not say this with any desire to question the right, for it is now the law, and it should be respected without too severe a criticism of its origin. But it is strange to see a litigant endeavouring to discover in his opponent's title the particular defect which is patent in his own. Zemindars and their friends have had this discussion so much to themselves that we must caution them against coming to believe in a fabulous history of the origin of different parts of the landlords. It is not true

that all the privileges of the ryots were devised yesterday, *instigante diabolo*; or that those of the zemindars came down from heaven direct at the creation of the world. Both are derived from native custom, modified by English law, the distinction between them being, that the rights of the cultivators are the more ancient.

The Government scheme itself betrays the hollowness of what we may call the historical plea for confiscation. It certainly deprives the holders of the tenures, which were in 1859 declared to be valid, of two thirds of their beneficial interest in the soil, and this act may be defended on the ground that the finding then arrived at in their favor was a mistake. But no such excuse can be made for any interference with privileges purchased or otherwise acquired since 1859. These were undoubtedly gained in a legitimate way, by lawful contract. The Code declares that a grant of village land to a ryot, followed by his residence on it for twelve years, shall, in the absence of any stipulation to the contrary, be held to amount to the creation in his favor of an occupancy tenure, with all its incidents. Every landlord who, since the promulgation of the law, has performed the act was aware of its consequences, and must be held bound by them. Indeed vast sums have been obtained in fines and cesses as consideration for such grants. And yet the Bill is even more harsh on ryots who have thus brought their privileges under the law than upon those whose titles are said to have been created at the time of passing the statute; for it takes from them not two-thirds only, but four-fifths of their interest. From this it seems to follow that, however the supporters of this measure may put forward antiquarian theories to keep off the uninformed crowd, they are themselves but little under the influence of such delusions. In their practical action the rule seems to be to push enhancement as far as it is likely to be borne, irrespective of the nature of the title under which exemption is claimed.

It will be seen that no excuse for tampering with the tenant-right of Bengal can be derived from the history of its origin. It is as vain to contend that the privilege of occupancy was conferred by the Supreme Legislature, as it is to maintain that the right to hold at proportionate rates was added by the High Court. The majority of our present ryots inherit their interest on the soil from those who were declared by the Perpetual Settlement to possess such a title. The remainder have acquired their position by contracts, generally made for a consideration, the nature of which is inferred from the general custom of the country, as ascertained by the Legislative Council in 1859, and since then from a positive statute. These two classes have been amalgamated, and cannot now be separated. Their tenures have been con-

firmed by express law, and have thus been bought and sold with a statutory title. We cannot even imagine how any property could be better secured. It is strange if prescription, contract, the decision of Courts, and the Acts of Council prove insufficient to preserve to the peasant his interest in the soil he ploughs.

Sir Richard Temple has referred to an idea of what in reason and justice an occupancy rent ought to be, as a proper guide to follow in legislation. He puts the objection to the existing system, the rule of proportion, that under it "the justice of the new rent must depend on that of the old. But what if the old rent were questionable, what if it were too high, as perhaps in some parts of Western Bengal, or too low, as perhaps in some parts of Eastern Bengal? Whatever defect may exist in the old rent is necessarily repeated in the new." The suggestion that the rates may be too high in Behar must be taken in connexion with the fact, that the Government scheme makes no provision for lowering them. The practical issue is confined to the proposal to raise the quit-rents of the East on the ground that they were from the first, and therefore under the law of the land must always continue to be, lower than in reason and justice an occupancy rate should be. Now we must say that this is a little fanciful. Reason and Justice, which are here introduced as authorities, do not prescribe any particular dues for occupancy ryots, any more than they do for Putnidars, Mohurridars, or Zemindars. Their admonition is simply that of the old Roman maxim, "give every man his own." Where a rent designed to be perpetual was originally fixed on a new scale, this was probably done from a consideration. The proposal is that the tenant should be deprived of four-fifths of what he bought, without getting back any part of the purchase money, that the landlord should take again what he sold, without returning the price received in exchange. Such actions are not dictated either by reason or justice. In every case, we must add, the terms of a perpetual tenure are fixed by special contract, by custom, or by statute; it must always be both foolish and inequitable to interfere by an *ex post facto* law, in order to make such holdings conform to our abstract idea of what their conditions ought to be.

This is the proper place in which to offer our comment upon the praise for liberality which the advocates of the present Bill bestow upon each other, on the ground that they wish to leave the ryots some part of their present share in the rack-rent. If they believe that public opinion would tolerate a measure more sweeping than that at present put forward, then they deserve some thanks for their moderation. They show liberality of the kind displayed by the hero of one of the late Lord Lytton's novels; the celebrated Paul Cliford, when he returned to those he stopped

on the highway a part of what he took from them, to the Bishop his gold watch and ten pounds from his purse, to the maid of honour her earrings and diamond aigrette. But if, on the other hand, they are trying to get as large an enhancement as there is any chance of the legislature allowing, they cannot claim the sympathy which we give to that generous robber. Those who grasp at all within their reach need not make a merit of leaving what they are unable to touch.

We come now to the arguments in favor of the proposed change which rest on utility, not on justice. It is proper that these should be considered with attention, but always subject to the maxim, that what is unfair can seldom in the long run be useful; that interference with the rights of property for the sake of some advantage to be gained is a dangerous practice. There are persons who believe that what they call a moderately high rent is conducive to the interests of agriculture, and to that of the cultivators themselves. Where the tenant has little to pay, he falls, these authorities assert, into habits of idleness; he neglects his work, less is produced, and while the country obtains a diminished crop, the farmer has no greater profit. High rents, on the other hand, make constant labour a necessity. The peasantry acquire the best of all qualities, industry, and become more happy and contented than the slothful can be. And the nation is benefited by an abundant supply of all the fruits of the earth.

On this speculation we must remark that while it gives a reason for taking money from the ryot, it affords none for making over the sum thus obtained to the zemindar. The superior tenure-holder has bought, probably at one of our auction sales, the right to receive from the inferior a certain fixed sum every year, or a payment assessable according to known rules. He has no claim to anything more than he has thus purchased. If we find it necessary to benefit the cultivator by increasing his liabilities, the lord of the manor has not a title to the excess. It should be used for the good of the public, or for that of those from whom it is taken. The education of the children of cultivators, and the support of their families in times of scarcity, are objects which naturally present themselves as suitable for the employment of such a fund. The reader will at once see that such a suggestion is unpractical: the argument that an increase in liabilities promotes industry, would be scouted if used as a plea for enhancing the amount of taxation. And this shows of what a flimsy texture the theory is made of. Used as a pretext for indulging the greed of a class, and supported by the political influence of those whom it would thus benefit, it does as well as another excuse. Any reason in favor of taking her cargo from a merchant ship will seem good to the pirate: he will be at once struck by the statement that it is

benevolent to make the vessel lighter, and thus to fit her for facing rough weather. But if informed by the Captain of a Man-of-war, that, though he may help to remove the freight to a safe place, he must not keep any of it, the pirate's belief in the necessity for interference will disappear at once.

The theory that high rents paid by the actual cultivators produce prosperity is not supported by any of the known facts of Indian agriculture. On the contrary, it appears that wherever the assessment has been low, the people have been prosperous, where it approached such a figure as eighty per cent. of the competition rate they have been distressed. Sir George Campbell often commented in official reports on the wretched condition of the cultivators in Behar where the local authorities have permitted the law in favor of tenant-right to remain a dead letter, with the comparative comfort of the ryots in Eastern Bengal, the part of the country in which the ancient rights of the cultivators have been best preserved. Sir Richard Temple, has, with great impartiality, testified to the same fact, though it is not favourable to his present policy. We could go through the list of the different Districts of Bengal, from Chittagong with its rich peasant proprietors, to the rack-rented ryots of the Darbhanga Raj, recently receiving State relief as paupers, and show that the prosperity of the peasantry varied inversely as the rent rate. If we look beyond our own Province we find that in Bombay the assessment is lighter than in other Presidencies, and that tenant-right has been conceded in full, even to the extent of permitting the cultivator to sell or underlet his interest in his farm. The effect is felt in high wages, a crop not only sufficient for the population, but leaving an ample margin to support commerce by large exports, an amount of comfort among the lower classes which at once strikes and gladdens the eye of the traveller. In the neighbouring Province of Gujarát, we have rack-rents, and misery. The land revenue of Madras was at first comparatively high, though less than what might have been obtained by competition. The resources of the country remained undeveloped until Lord Harris reduced the assessment in 1854, since which there has been an improvement. But the rate is still greater than that of Bengal and Bombay, and Madras is still backward in agriculture. In the North-West, too, the rent is generally imposed on a medium scale, and the country is not remarkable either for the poverty or the wealth of its ryots. Oudh is an exception, it is to some extent rack-rented, ejections are frequent, emigration is active, and a Bengal revenue officer on visiting the country is saddened by the unfortunate condition of its inhabitants. These facts have influenced the judgment of the Government of India, which has deliberately adopted on its own estates the policy of light assessments.

The authors of this proposal do not wish to reduce the prosper-

ous ryots of Eastern Bengal, to the wretched condition of their brethren in the worst parts of Behar; but such, in all human probability, would be the ultimate effect of their measure. The cultivators who now hold upon lease only, or at will, would be the first to feel the consequences of the passing of the Bill. The landlord has at present the right to subject these tenants to the rack-rent, enforcing it in the only practical way, by frequent ejectments, and free competition for the vacant farms. But in fact nothing of the kind takes place. Very little could be gained in money by introducing such a system, as the class is comparatively small, while much would be lost in popularity. The Zemindar would appear to be breaking through the established usages of the country, in order to oppress a few isolated ryots left by the law at his mercy. If he adopted such a line of conduct the occupancy ryots would probably withhold the illegal cesses, which, wherever they are not a black-mail levied by violence, are payments made in consideration for the observance by the lord of the manor of such of the customary privileges of the cultivators as are not yet protected by law. Whatever be the explanation, the fact is beyond dispute. At present the tenants-at-will pay only the same rate as the privileged ryots, about one third of the rack-rent. But would this state of things continue if we were to enact that the rent of the minority should regulate that of the majority, instead of being itself fixed by the more general custom? If we were to decide that the rate of the large body of occupancy ryots should be assessed according to that of the few and scattered leaseholders—there can be but one answer to these questions. If the landlords do not care to crush a few poor men with exceptional charges, they certainly entertain a strong and natural desire to get a general rise in the rent rates. To secure this end they will take every necessary measure. A proposal somewhat similar to that before us, was met at a recent debate in Council by the observation, that it would encourage landlords to give tenants-at-will collusive leases, not with the intention of collecting at the rate indicated, but to make evidence against occupancy ryots. This suggestion was thrown out by men who knew the country, and is founded on well-known facts recently proved. The reply was, that the Courts would detect the fraud, and the practise would thus be stopped. Granting that this would be so, the result would be that, the Zemindars instead of merely pretending to rack-rent the tenants-at-will, would consider it necessary to rack-rent them in cruel earnest. Thus the lowest class would find itself subjected to the highest possible charges, simply because the rate it paid had been selected as a standard for assessing others. We must add that the tenants-at-will are a body rapidly increasing in numbers at the expense of the more favoured order. In 1859 it consisted exclusively of those who

had been less than twelve years in possession of their holdings, and of a few leaseholders. To these are now added "the stipulators," that is those who have contracted themselves out of the benefits of the Act. It is the rule on many estates to take from all new tenants an agreement that they shall not acquire occupancy rights, and wherever this practise is adhered to, the privileged class must ultimately die out. A measure like the present, which would lead to a sharp and defined line being drawn between the two divisions of ryots, would make landlords more careful to provide against the growth of adverse interests on their estates, and thus hasten the process which is leading to the extinction of customary tenures. We thus arrive at the conclusion that the first effect of the proposed measure would be to subject a small, but increasing body of cultivators to the full competition rent rate.

Now there is good reason to suspect that in Bengal a competition rent does not very much differ from a starvation rent. The density of the population is greater than in any other part of the world where a census has been taken : 321 to the square mile on the whole including the hill tracts, 600 in many districts, 1,000 in some purely agricultural divisions of Hooghly. Vast as they already are these masses are rapidly increasing. Births go on at the old rate, while the number of deaths has been diminished by the cessation of the scourges of war and famine, the mitigation of some other causes of mortality, such as infanticide, and the ravages of wild beasts. If the amount of employment other than agricultural has been increased in some directions it has diminished in others ; all our domestic industries having been superseded by the competition of foreign manufacturers. The pressure of the population on the land is great, and it grows in intensity. There are more cultivators than available holdings ; every village has its outsiders, its expectants, who want land, but cannot get it. These men have to support themselves on wages not sufficient to maintain a family in a supply of wholesome food—about two pence farthing a day in the interior. Even now they sometimes take farms on the Burgait or Metayer system, receiving the seed, and giving half the crop, a division which leaves the cultivator almost a pauper. Under a system of competition these hungry cottiers would bid against each other, until the rent was raised to the highest level at which it can remain in any country,—that which leaves the cultivator in ordinary seasons the bare necessities of life.

It is unfortunately necessary to consider this subject of tenant-right in connexion with that of famine. The partial failure of the crop in a district of Behar formed the subject of an official enquiry held during the cold season of the current year.

The result showed that the loss was not very serious, and that it would not, in most parts of India, have been considered to justify measures of Government relief; but it was found that in this particular place a bad land system prevailed, and owing to its results, and other causes, the ryots had become so impoverished, that our intervention was necessary. Some of our readers may remember an incident which happened in Nadiya at the commencement of the administration of Sir George Campbell, which should be considered side by side with this occurrence in Behar. The crop of a large tract of country was altogether destroyed by flood, and the Lieutenant-Governor went to the spot to offer assistance. He found that the loss had been enormous, but that the people were so well-to-do and self-reliant, that they could support it without Government help. For in Nadiya the rent rates of the old Rajah were very low, the attempts of new purchasers to raise them have resulted only in the moderate enhancement permitted by our law, and all efforts at illegal extortion must have been unprofitable under a regime such as that of the exceptionally able and honest officers who have succeeded each other as Chief Magistrates of Krishnagar. Now we say that if the new law is to call into existence a large class of ryots over the whole country, as much impoverished as those of the Dharbanga estate, our famine prospects will be gloomy indeed. The peasants will not be able to save up anything in ordinary years as a provision against bad times. Every scarcity will find them without either means or credit, and will throw them in hundreds of thousands upon our hands.

As to the occupancy ryots themselves, we believe that the allowance of 20 per cent. of the rack-rent is insufficient to be of substantial benefit to them. The ordinary cottier holds about two acres, for which he pays ten shillings a year, the competition value of the farm being one pound ten. He can thus pay by twenty shillings, and if he has not done so, he can borrow during a scarcity on the credit of his ability to pay. Under the proposed system he would have but six shillings profit, a sum not large enough to be of much use. *

It is well to look at the economical action of the proposed measure from another point of view. The object of the Bill is the enhancement of rent, that is, an increase in the amount of money yearly transferred from the cultivators of Bengal to the superior tenure-holders.

Now it is the ryots who have made this province what it is. They cleared the dense jungle which once covered the face of the country; it is by them that its trees have been planted, its wells sunk, its gardens enclosed. The Zemindars have no interest in carrying out such works on the occupancy tenures, and they

neglect to do so on their private estates and on the farms of their tenants-at-will. On this point we will quote the best authority, that of a Native Judge of the High Court. "In Bengal," he says, "an advance by a landlord to improve his estates is a thing unfortunately a mere contingency, written in the books of law, but not yet practically realized." Now we must look for future improvement to the agency which has effected it in the past. The ryots have produced our present prosperity, such as it is; they alone are likely to contribute to its increase. On occupancy holdings, at least, it would be foolish to expect that any person except the tenure-holder should ever contribute to the improvement of the soil. The farmer alone can profit by any increase in its value. The Zemindar is a mere rent charger, entitled to receive a rent regulated by fixed rules, and such he must always remain. Sir Richard Temple's scheme would not alter his position in this respect, though it would increase his income; whether his dues are assessed at a percentage of the rate paid by tenants-at-will, or on the system of proportion, he is equally destitute of all interest in the improvement of the land; we have said that the Bill would transfer six hundred millions worth of property from the ryots to the Zemindars. We have now to add that this sum would pass from the productive to the non-productive class of the community, from those who spend a part of what they get on developing the resources of the country by improving its land, to men who employ their income in other ways. Such a change could not but be injurious to the cause of economic progress. We say this without meaning to imply that the Zemindars make a bad or a wasteful use of their money. On the contrary: we believe that they are as a body charitable and thrifty, and that, where their means permit, they keep up a judicious and suitable dignity, which is creditable to themselves and pleasing to all classes, including that of the cultivators. We would be glad to see increased, in any legitimate manner, the incomes which they dispense with such discretion: we only assert that their expenditure does not take that particular form which political economists call productive.

No reason is more frequently assigned for changing the present rule of proportion in enhancement, than an alleged difficulty in working it. In order to carry out, says the Minute, "it becomes necessary to determine judicially the amount and value of the produce, not only at the present time, but at some antecedent time." This, it is suggested, is a task beyond the power of the plaintiff to prove. The obligation to give evidence of a matter so complicated is heavier than he can bear, and it should now be removed from his shoulders.

We have not far to seek for the origin of the impression that

it is very hard to prove the facts necessary to obtain a decree for enhancement under the rule of proportion. The value of the crop of Bengal has certainly increased of late years, as may be seen from the official price current returns; but, as we learn from the road-cess figures, when compared with the old records, the rent has risen in a still greater ratio. This enhancement has generally been effected by private agreement between the parties, the ryots being willing to yield to any demand which rests on a legal ground, and is not repugnant to their customs. It has thus come to pass that the Zemindars have obtained quietly, and without the expense of litigation, all that they have any right to; indeed the more pushing and active among them, those who are now the most clamorous for a new law, have managed to extract rather more than their fair share. While on this point we will trouble the reader with a few figures taken from the records of the Perpetual Settlement, and from the Road Cess returns. In 1797 the rent-roll of Bengal was £2,514,600. The collections made on the same lands is now about £16,500,000, therefore the rent paid by the cultivators has been quadrupled. But this does not measure the gains of the landlord. In 1799 the revenue assessment amounted to £2,860,000, so that only a quarter of a million remained to the Zemindars as profit, a bare commission of ten per cent. on the land-tax as a consideration for the trouble and responsibility of collection. The revenue is now, in those districts, £7,520,000; the landlords share is seven millions. Thus the income of the superior tenure-holders has been increased twenty-eight fold during the present century. This good fortune, which has come to the Zemindars unearned and unexpected, is without parallel in any part of Her Majesty's dominions, European or Asiatic, perhaps, we might, add Colonial. We congratulate those who have invested their money in the purchase of land on the rapidity with which their wealth has increased, or the ease and the completeness with which they have obtained what they bought; a right to an enhancement of rent proportionate to the rise in the value of agricultural produce. But having already got all that they are entitled to in the present state of the market, they must not ask that the law should be changed in order that they should get that to which they have no equitable claim,—what is the property of their poorer neighbours. For a further increase of income they must await the result of the improvements still going forward. They must not insist upon grasping too much at once. Above all, let us understand what they mean when they say it is impossible to work the rule of proportion. It is that they have already got all that they can ask under it, and that it is, therefore, impossible to work it just now to their own advantage. Their complaint is that of the Bombay tradesman who objected to the

Small Cause Courts, as of no use to him, because he had been paid what was justly his due, and no Judge would give him a decree for more.

We have high authority for stating that a landlord has no practical difficulty in obtaining any enhancement to which he may be really entitled under the rule of proportion. The opinion of the fifteen Judges who considered the Thakooranee case was on this point unanimous. "I do not," said Mr. Justice Trevor, in disposing of the objection when put by an advocate, "see any necessity for the supposed difficulties. A Zemindar, on suing to enhance, must state the grounds on which he desires enhancement. If his claim be founded on the increase in the value of the produce through a simple rise in prices, he will, whatever the mode of adjustment determined on, have to state the circumstances leading to the demand, and he will have to inform the Court of the particular rise of prices subsequent to the last adjustment which justifies the demand. In stating this he will give the Court sufficient data for the formula laid down." Loch, Bayley, Jackson, and Glover, J. J's, concurred in this judgment. Macpherson J. said, "let the Zemindar seeking to enhance the rent go back to any year he chooses; let him go back to the last adjustment if he can, if he can not to any year that will suit his purpose, and let him prove that the proportion was then more favorable to him than it has since become." Campbell J., (now Sir George) put every difficult case that could arise under the rule of proportion, and showed how each could be disposed of. Pundit J., the only native then on the bench, stated decisively that, "in adopting the rule of proportion we have not to make any difficult enquiries. The value of agricultural produce is a matter almost within the personal knowledge of the generality of the villagers, and there are many very satisfactory records shewing what it was for years past." Seton Karr, J. said, "I believe that materials exist for this enquiry, that there are men in every haut, gunge, and bazaar in the country, who can supply such information." Kemp J. added, "the theory is one of easy application." Steer J. remarked that it was "certainly most simple." Sir Barnes Peacock, while putting every objection which he thought could fairly be urged against the rule, declined to adopt the suggestion, that it would not work easily. Where is the evidence which is to be placed against that of these Judges; men of learning, of experience, of tried impartiality? We have never heard quoted the opinion of a single man who, having tried to enforce the rule of proportion, had found any difficulty in doing so.

As this is not a matter to be decided altogether on authority, we will consider it briefly for ourselves. The rent of an occupancy tenure is subject from time to time to re-adjustment in proportion

to any increase or decrease which may occur in the average value of the crop, otherwise than by the improvements effected at the expense of the tenant: and the question at issue is, can this rule be worked? Now the most ordinary cause of such a change is a rise in prices. This is a movement which has for half a century gone on over the whole of India, we might say over the civilized world; there is everywhere a steady, though not a uniform increase in the cost of all agricultural products. In particular neighbourhoods, where new markets have been opened up by railways and roads, the rise is marked in a special manner. Now the history of prices is a matter of public notoriety, which may be easily proved by the records of the Secretariat, of the Board of Revenue, of every collectorate, and of many dealers in country produce. In an authority no less accessible to Zemindars than their own organ, the *Hindu Patriot*, we have seen a sketch of the rise of prices in the town which is the centre of the estates where the most serious enhancement suits have occurred; it was detailed, and apparently taken from sources which would have been considered authentic in any Court. Nothing can be easier than for a landlord to prove an alteration in the average price of grain, and this done in one case, a precedent is established, which, in practice, is good for a whole district. And our courts require no more than this. It is a mistake to say that a landlord must prove "amount and value of the produce" in order to obtain a decree. He has only to show that a rise in prices has occurred, and he will get a proportionate enhancement, unless the tenant can establish some defence, such as the usual one, that there has already been a proportionate increase in the rent.

The Minute suggests that the matter becomes more difficult when the crop has been changed, where the land which was sown with rice in the old days, is now covered by jute or linseed. This does indeed appear a complication, but the objection disappears when considered more closely. There is in Bengal no land which produces jute and linseed exclusively. The demand for these staples is limited, the supply of soil well adapted for their growth is enormous, almost any rice land is suited for the purpose. It follows, that no farmers have a monopoly of the cultivation of jute and linseed, and from this again we infer that no unusual or extraordinary profit can be made by raising them; for if there was much to be gained by so doing, others would sow these new crops, and the quantity produced would be increased until all lands fit for the purpose had been exhausted, or the excessive supply had reduced their prices. We all know that in the case of jute, great profits did lead to over-production, reaction in the market, a fall in prices, contraction of the area of cultivation, and loss to the farmers, all in the usual course, and as those acquainted with commercial

affairs predicted beforehand, things have now found their level, and the profits of jute cultivation are the same as those of the growers of rice. The price of the latter staple has been raised by the introduction of the fibre as the quantity of land on which rice is grown has been reduced, and the supply diminished. And this rise in the price of rice, measures with perfect accuracy the increase in the gross value of his crop, gained by the cultivators generally. The landlords have, therefore, to prove the history of the price of rice only, in order to establish a claim for proportionate enhancement. The theory that they are entitled to more than this on the ground that exceptional profit can, on the average, be made by growing a new crop, such as jute or linseed, will be rejected by every one acquainted with the facts of the case and the accepted truths of political economy.

The Zemindar has a right to enhancement if the quantity of the crop produced has increased, just as he has when its price has risen. But cases of this sort are exceptional, not like those to which we have previously referred, the inevitable effect of causes always at work. In general, land does not improve independent of human agency. Left to itself it runs into jungle; tilled year by year it, at best, retains its original fertility. The only land in Bengal which is known to improve spontaneously is that newly formed by the accretion of our great rivers. This runs through a familiar course, being at first mere sand, and becoming in time like the rest of the country, which has been all created by such deposits. The problem of the assessment of such land, where it is held under occupancy tenure, is solved by the second rule of enhancement,—by making the rate the same as that paid for soil of the class into which it has passed. This is a regular custom, fair in itself, and objected to by neither party. If, as the native puts it, your *chur* land has become *asul*, you must pay *asul* rates. Thus the difficulty of an enquiry into the amount of the produce has never become necessary in any one instance.

We might, indeed, put imaginary cases in which the application of the rule of proportion would tax the ingenuity and patience of the best judge. The introduction of the culture of tea has given an exceptional value to land in the few places suited for such gardens, the slopes of the Himalayas, and the Terai at its foot. Some people hope that Carolina seed may be substituted for our own,—and that the quantity of rice grown in the country may be thus increased. But the tea-gardens have not been made on occupancy tenures, and the fine American rice has not, as yet, superseded that of Bengal. It will be time enough to deal with such difficulties when they arise. At the worst, it would not be impossible to make the calculation in its entirety, to ascertain the value of the former crop and of that substituted in its stead.

But if the objection of a practical difficulty in its working does not lie against the rule of proportion, it certainly tells with great force against the system to be established by the new Bill. The standard of assessment set up by that measure is "the average rate paid by non-occupancy ryots in the district or part of a district." The difficulty of finding out what this average may be, will be understood by those officers who have had to make similar inquiries, under the provision of the present law, which enables a Zemindar to enhance the rent of an individual to the prevalent rate for ryots of the same class in places adjacent. Every step in such an enquiry is beset with snares. We will pass over the ambiguity of the phrase "district or part of a district," and suppose that the law, as amended, may indicate clearly what is the tract of country to be taken as the area of comparison. This being known, the person who has to calculate the average must begin by separating the few non-occupancy ryots, whose rent-rate is to be the standard, from the mass of privileged tenants. This will be no easy task, as the *status* of ryots is generally disputed, and the question cannot be raised without creating a war of classes. The next thing to be done is to classify the lands of the tenants who are found to possess no rights, for we presume that it is only lands of equal value to those in dispute which can be taken as a criterion for fixing the rate. The rent given for a fertile field near a market would not be selected as an indication of that which should be assessed on a patch of sand near a malarious swamp. This survey completed, the rent paid for the different qualities of land by the tenants-at-will should be ascertained with precision. In doing so, evidence would have to be closely sifted and compared. It cannot be assumed that rent is correctly stated in leases, as we have been told in Council that the Zemindars would execute collusive deeds in order to effect the apparent rate; nor that the collections shewn in account books are accurate, as it has been proved that, in Eastern Bengal, these are often falsified on a large scale, and for a number of years, with the same object.

The Minute seems to accept the position that the rule it would introduce is hard to work. At least on no other ground can we explain the confiscation by the Bill of the ryots present right under Act of 1859, to have his old rent considered fair and equitable until the contrary is proved; a privilege of great practical importance. At present the law requires that the Zemindar seeking an enhancement shall prove the facts which may entitle him to it; the whole *onus probandi* is on his shoulders. The Bill would make it the duty of the Judge to establish the plaintiff's case for him. Our judicial officers of all grades possess the confidence of the people, and in particular of the cultivators;

but we fear that if the new system is introduced, they may soon become odious. A Judge who steps down from his seat, and goes about the country, enquiring into the status of one ryot, and the rent paid by another, in order to treble the customary dues of a third, runs the risk of being confounded with the agents of rack-renting landlords. That is not the position in which we would wish to present our officers to the peasantry. Nor will the position be improved if the Courts avail themselves of the power left to them of delegating the invidious task to the Collector. It is not the policy of Government to perform for landlords the unpopular work of raising customary rates, and to establish for this purpose a system of perpetual and inquisitorial surveys.

It is anticipated that even the Collector may be unable to find out the average in question, and in that case the rent is to be enhanced until it is equal to the value of a particular fraction of the gross produce—three twentieths. It seems hard on the ryot that he is never to escape, that if one rule fails against him another should be brought up as a reserve. As to the principle of fixing rent at a fraction of the crop, irrespective of customary rights, of the quality of the soil, and of the nature of the plant grown, it is that adopted by barbarians when, on first emerging from the nomad state, they commence a kind of agriculture. As soon as a degree of civilization, such as that of the most backward Mahratta Principalities, has been attained, modifications are introduced. Sindia and Holkar could inform the Bengal Council that they find it necessary to vary the share of the State in the produce according to the class of soil, and to the value of the crop. Tobacco, pan, and tea could not be cultivated if the large sum represented by three-twentieths of their price had to be given as rent, and the sandy churs of Bengal could not bear such an assessment; though, on some rice lands the rack-rent is three times as great. The reader will be surprised to find a process too savage for Indore offered to Bengal as an improvement. He will be tempted to ask whether any other antedeluvian institutions are to be dis-interred from their graves, and presented to us as living principles of the greatest importance?

Speaking for the ryots, if we may be allowed to do so, and not without knowledge of their wishes, we can say that they would like to see the present law rendered even more precise. The landlord has a right to an enhancement proportionate to the rise in the value of grain: it would be well to settle what markets should be accepted as the standard for this estimate, and over how many years it should extend. We can claim to raise the rate of an individual to that prevalent in "places adjacent:" the tenants would wish to know beforehand, what places are to

• be considered adjacent within the meaning of this section. They have no object in maintaining a state of doubt on any point, in provoking those conflicts, in which it is the last rupee that wins. A legislator who thus defined and confirmed the present rights of both parties would meet with the approbation given by the peasants to the Magistrate, who sets up land-marks, thus preventing the uncertainty which gives an excuse for encroachment to the strong. That ruler would excite a very different sentiment who, on pretence that there was some difficulty in fixing its boundary, confiscated a poor man's field, giving him in its stead a patch of land less valuable in another place, where the limits were still less defined. As to whether the Zemindars would be glad to exchange the chance of invading the rights of others for greater security in their own, we cannot speak with such confidence. Just at present we fear, that elated by the prospects held out to them in this Bill, they would oppose any measure designed to confirm existing institutions. We merely mean to observe that, as far as the ryots are concerned, there is no objection to precision, and that where the present law is wanting in that quality, it could be amended without any change of principle, and without danger of popular discontent.

One of the objects of the Bill is to prevent agrarian disturbances by removing all cause of dispute. The reader may judge how far this effect is likely to result from a measure which substitutes for the old and simple rule of proportion, a standard of assessment so novel and uncertain as the average rate paid by tenants-at-will in the District or part of the District. We have here to recall the fact that the disputes referred to, did not relate to any question which could not have been settled by the most simple law of enhancement. They were caused by our neglect of a simple precaution, which experience has shown to be necessary all over India, which has been adopted in every other province, and was formerly enforced with great strictness in Bengal. We allude to the registration of all transactions effecting the rent rate. Everyone knows that the amount of the dues to be paid by the cultivators should be a matter of public record. The natives have a disposition to complicate their accounts with tenants by legal, illegal, and quasi-legal cesses, to set up false claims, and deny true ones, which renders it impossible to preserve order. Unless we insist on the observation of some method in such transactions, we must either have a system of registration, or confusion and doubt. While we have no great liking for either of these alternatives, we prefer the former. Unfortunately, in 1857, the law which imposed a penalty for the neglect of registration was repealed, while the provision declaring it a duty, was left in force. Changes may now be effected in the rent-rate by a verbal agreement between the Zemindar and a bare

majority of the ryots, and it is in this way that enhancements have in practise been effected, so that the present assessment is the result of several such unauthenticated alterations. In cases of dispute it is now difficult to ascertain, not, as some suppose, what the rent may be raised to, but what it in fact has been and is. The landlords allege that a particular rate is in force, having been introduced in such a year, by the consent of the ryots, and having since regulated all payments; and if asked for evidence in support of this assertion, they produce their rent-roll and their accounts, summoning also their servants as witnesses.

The ryots reply that they always refused to agree to any enhancement, that the alleged contract is a fiction, the accounts forgeries, and the clerks perjured. The Courts sometimes find that the statements of the tenants, improbable as they may seem to persons unfamiliar with such transactions, are perfectly true, while in other cases it turns out that it is the ryots themselves who are trying to deceive. It is this attempt of Zemindars to cheat by false accounts, that has led to breaches of the peace in Eastern Bengal; or at least that cause combined with the readiness of the ryots to dispute the accuracy of accounts, which were kept regularly and in a business-like manner. Attempts to enhance the rent, unaccompanied by such conspiracies to deceive, have never occasioned any tumult, and there is no reason to suppose that they will have such an effect at any future period. The remedy for the evil is obvious. We should introduce the system of registration now prevalent in the other presidencies. It will not enable us to escape the bad effect of our neglect in the past, but in time it will establish a record of all rights. The returns under the Road Cess Act are a step in this direction, but as they are *ex parte* records, and are evidence only against the person who makes them, they are not of much value by themselves. The Bill before us neglects to make any provision whatever for the registration of enhancements. It does not even touch the part of our system which is really out of order. The disturbances which suggested some change in the law are thus taken as the occasion of legislation in the interest of the superior as against the inferior tenure-holder, on a point altogether unconnected with the question at issue. We might, if we chose, do a great deal to prevent disputes by merely adopting the imperial and the old Bengal policy on a minor matter of procedure; but we prefer to fly off at a tangent, and to effect a radical change in a part of our substantive law, which had no connection with the cause of any disturbance.

The examples of the Punjab and of Oudh have been quoted in the Minute as precedents for taking the rent-rate of the tenants-at-will as the standard for fixing that of the occupancy tenure-holders; and there has been added, apparently through some

misapprehension as to the existing law in that part of India, a reference to the North-West. In the province with the administration of which Sir Richard Temple was once so honourably connected, our policy has always been fair and consistent. We never withdrew privileges once acknowledged, or confiscated the property declared by a Court of Justice to belong to any man. We first held an intelligent inquiry into the respective rights of different classes in the land, and these ascertained we confirmed and upheld them. The system now in force in the Punjab appears excellent in itself, however much it might be out of place at this opposite extremity of India. The cultivators have been very generally acknowledged as proprietors, either individually, or in village groups. Where privileged under-tenants exist, these have been divided into three classes, of which the highest holds at one-half the competition rate, not at the four-fifths of the same sum assigned to their fellows under the proposed Bill. All this is well enough, where it forms part of the traditional law of a country; but they are not institutions for which we should sacrifice existing rights of property. Sir John Lawrence, the founder of the Punjab School, would have been the first to oppose the confiscation of the property of tenants, whether to please the landlords, or to introduce some shreds and patches of a system established in a different country.

In Oudh we have certainly done exactly what the Zemindars wish us to do in Bengal, and it is a true instinct which leads them to recur to that example. We first acknowledged that the cultivators possessed a valuable interest in the soil, and concluded a settlement with them on that basis; after a little time we cancelled our agreements, and confiscated their property, giving to them in its stead a pittance of 12½ per cent. on the rack-rent. This act we did, but as a necessity of war, and a punishment for rebellion. Lord Canning declared all lands in Oudh confiscated, by a proclamation published during the height of the mutiny. Afterwards as each chief submitted, grants were made to him of certain lands, to the exclusion of the peasant proprietors. This was what General Barrow calls the settlement made on the battle-field, and it is certainly very unlike any arrangement which a ruler would have concluded during peace. We will not quote the reproof administered to Lord Canning for this spoliation, by the then Secretary of State for India, or the more measured condemnation of the Duke of Argyll, and the summary of the facts by Mr. Mill. We will assume that after a rebellion it may be right and politic to withdraw from a settlement made with the cultivators, and to hand them over to the military chiefs who had headed the insurgents. But does it follow that we should use the same violence in times of profound peace? That we should involve the loyal peasantry

of Bengal in the ruin which in 1857 overtook the rebels of Oudh. It would be as reasonable to excite the soldiers of the garrison to sack Calcutta next Sunday, on the ground that Delhi was looted after it had been taken by storm. It is one of the evils of civil war, that while it lasts, little respect is paid to the rights of property, whether real or personal. But when peace is re-established, the habits acquired in less happy times should be abandoned. We should beware of any man who asks us, in our legislative capacity, to imitate the conduct of those Spanish soldiers, who, having been guerillas during the Peninsular campaign, became robbers after the conclusion of the treaty of Paris.

It is sometimes said that a Government such as ours cannot deal with the masses directly. It can act only through a native aristocracy, and should therefore endeavour to secure the affections of the owners of land! And we may properly effect this object, it is inferred, by transferring to that body property which at present belongs to the cultivators. Such sentiments appear to us to be as mistaken as ungenerous. The attachment of any body of natives must be useful: that of the more intelligent classes is particularly pleasing, when it is gained by honourable means. But we would only injure our position if we condescended to court any interest by dishonestly sacrificing to it, the rights of others. A great General has remarked, that in India, England requires but three things to render her power lasting; justice, rupees, and bayonets. It would be a poor policy to sacrifice the first of these titles to supremacy, in order to gain a fourth of doubtful value, such loyalty as is left to the plunderer by those who have received a share in the booty. Lord Lawrence took a broader view when he wrote: "It is on the well-being and content of the people of the soil that peace and order in India mainly depend. They are the sinews and marrow of the physical force of the country, and no policy which does not tend to the improvement of their condition will, in the long run, prove advantageous to our rule. If they are prosperous the military force may be small, but not otherwise." It is fortunate for the country that the author of this passage had the opportunity of giving a fair trial to his theory as to the best way of making a land policy strengthen the political position of an Indian ruler. He settled the Punjab on a popular basis, and he trusted the cultivators: the result was seen when the Punjabis marched to besiege Delhi for us, and to re-conquer Oudh.

We do not wish to dwell very long upon this point, as it is of less importance in Lower Bengal than elsewhere. But we must say, that the sudden doubling and trebling, through the Courts, of a rent hitherto fixed by custom necessarily creates disaffection. The fact that this is done by a new law, on a principle hitherto unheard of, and, as Mr. Seton-Karr says of competition, "abhorrent

to the temperament, social habits, and attachment to the soil which distinguish the agriculturalists of India," will not tend to prevent such an unfortunate result. It is true that discontent is not as formidable here as elsewhere. Still, we must remember that in Lower Bengal, the Wahabee movement spread only among those who were dissatisfied at the enhancement of rent, so much so, that a late Commissioner of Dacca, of a turn of mind rather practical than scientific, used the words *Ferazi* (Mahammadan Puritan) in the sense of a litigious tenant. There are fanatical preachers ready to take advantage of the sentiments produced by a law bearing hardly on the cultivators. And we must acknowledge that in the present state of feeling in Asia, an attack from this quarter would be, to say the least of it, embarrassing.

It may be asked whether, in objecting to Sir Richard Temple's proposal, we have any other to offer in its place? We have indicated some amendments which might be advantageously made on the present law; and to two of these, the registration of changes in rent rates, and the explanation of the words, "*places adjacent*," we venture to attach importance. These are reforms which have been effected in other Provinces, and will sooner or later be found necessary in Bengal. Moreover, we think that non-occupancy tenants should on eviction be entitled to compensation for their unexhausted improvements, a principle recently acknowledged in the North-West. And there are other points suggested by the experience of eighteen years which should be considered, if the Act of 1859 is to be amended. We do not, however, think the present moment opportune for such legislation. It has been found that Government measures affecting the landlord and tenant question are always altered in the interest of the higher class as they pass through Council. Thus the draft of Act X. of 1859 was changed so as to diminish the number of ryots entitled to rights of occupancy, and to impose on such tenure-holders a new liability in the shape of a third ground for the enhancement of rent. The law recently passed in the North-West Provinces was framed in order to make a rent fixed by the revenue officer, permanent during the whole period of settlement, and thus altogether to prevent enhancement, except at long intervals. In Council it was amended so that the privileged ryot's rent may now be raised every ten years. The influence which produced these results on the action of Government is now paramount in the Bengal Council. This was proved by the fate of the Agrarian Disturbances Bill. It was intended to provide an exceptional machinery for deciding rent cases in disturbed villages, leaving the rights of the parties untouched. An amendment was proposed to the effect, that in such localities the substantive law of enhancement should be changed, and this was carried and incorporated with the Act, against the votes of

the majority of the Government Members. The rules framed to supplement that of proportion in these villages are improperly so called. They are a charter of unrestricted license, leaving it to the discretion of revenue officers to enhance the quit-rent on any principle, and to any extent. When we see a moderate and useful measure so transformed by the Council, we lose all confidence in it as a tribunal for deciding upon the law of landlord and tenant. The best thing it can do with that question is to let it alone. We are not in any urgent need of change, things are working fairly; there are no land complaints. The time may come when the legislature is prepared to approach such subjects in an impartial and enlightened spirit, with a desire to define and enforce existing rights, rather than to confiscate them. Until that hour arrives we had best remain as we are.

We have re-stated, as clearly as we could, all the arguments advanced in favor of the Bill; and we have not been deterred by the respect in which its authors are justly held, on account of distinction fairly earned in many fields, from putting the objections to it in the plainest and the strongest words. The conclusion appears to be, that the proposed measure is at once unjust and inexpedient. Unjust, in as much as it purports to take property of great value in the aggregate, and now divided among some millions of owners, from those who before the supreme judicial tribunal of the land have established a valid title to retain it, and who have since held it for many years, buying and selling, transmitting and inheriting it among themselves, under the sanction of our laws, and the protection of our Government. Inexpedient, because it is designed to transfer a great revenue from the productive to the non-productive classes, from those who need it as an insurance against famine, to men who are never likely to require State relief in any scarcity: also, because it would create confusion and litigation, agrarian discontent, and political disaffection. The proposal would never have been made were it not that one of the parties interested has the power to make itself heard exclusively, and has for years repeated its perversion of history, its mis-statements of the existing law, and its mis-representations of current events, until they have obtained implicit credit, and are taken as undisputed not only by the general public, but even by many persons who are well informed on such subjects, and sincerely desire to be impartial. We wish we could put aside the delusions they created, as a screen that conceals from us the view behind: but perhaps they should rather be regarded as the mist through which the breeze makes a reef for a moment only, until it closes again, hiding from the pilot the rock upon which he is steering.

ART. VII.—THE NATIVE NEWSPAPERS OF INDIA AND CEYLON.

Prometheus being reconciled with Jove,
The old Titan took the liberal leadership
Of that Olympian Government which he
(The first great popular incendiary)
Had long denounced from the Caucasian cold
Of opposition. And, perceiving soon
That, though the Monarch of Olympus ruled
By right divine, he was not indisposed
To let himself be popularly famed
The father of his subjects, the adroit
Intriguing Titan thus to Jove appealed :
" Monarch of gods and mortals, live for ever !
Stay not thy steps in the well-enter'd path
Of progress. [India's] mute multitudes behold :
Read in the language of their longing eyes
The passionate petition of the dumb :
And to life's thousand inarticulate thoughts,
Emotions, faculties, and sentiments,
Grant the yet-wanted, all-completing, gift
Without which life is valueless—a voice !"
But Jove, mistrustful, answer'd. " To what end ?"
" No end of ends !" The Titan cried, " Each end
A fresh beginning. Voice will lead to speech,
Speech to intelligence, intelligence
To liberty," " And liberty to what ?"
Mocking his Minister, the Monarch ask'd,
Impatient of reply. " Let none be led
To dream of taking liberties with me !
Restless, impulsive old philanthropist,
Thy talk smacks revolutionary still."
" Still" said Prometheus, sullenly. " Why not ?
From revolutionary sources rose
The power I serve : and what wert thou thyself
Without the Revolution, Son of Time ?"

. " Living force
In all that lives I seek, and, where I find,
I love and serve it. Not the poorest germ
That strives with uncongenial circumstance
But show me beating in its breast one pulse
Of pregnant life, it shall not lack mine aid
To grow and strengthen,—ay, and overcome !"

—*The Liberty of the Press.*—By Lord Lytton, Governor General
of India.

I.

It should not, perhaps, be a matter of surprise, though it is certainly of regret, that in a question of such recent occurrence as the establishment of the Native Press of India, discrepant accounts have already appeared as to whom the honour

belonged of founding this potent means of representing and influencing opinion. Incorrect statements have appeared; and a claim for the honour has been founded on the fact that, in 1830, an officer of the Indian Medical Service, Dr. John Henderson, with the aid of an old Stanhope Press and a fount of type, published an advertising sheet, the *avant-courreur* of the *Agra Akhbar*, which was held to be the first native newspaper published in India. It may have been the premier vernacular sheet of the North-West Provinces, but it was certainly not the first Native Newspaper in the land. Twelve years prior to Dr. Henderson's praiseworthy effort the Serampore Missionaries (notably Dr. Marshman) added a further obligation to the already great debt which India owed to their unwavering labours, an obligation which is not unlikely in its far-reaching influence and possible expansion to be equal to any of the great efforts which have emanated from that home of large enterprises,—the Danish settlement of Serampore. On the 23rd of May, 1818, the first vernacular newspaper of India was published. The *Darpan* (Mirror) was printed at Serampore, and the Marquis of Hastings, then Governor-General, hailed its appearance as an omen of good. Not contenting himself with writing a letter to the projectors expressing his entire approval of the enterprise initiated and of the journal itself, the Viceroy went farther, subscribed in the name of the Government for a considerable number of copies, and had them sent to the different native Courts.* The Marquis gave utterance to a sentiment which it would be assuring to hear repeated in these days from those similarly high in authority in this land, when it is proposed, in some quarters in India, to check the freedom of expression of opinion, and to place a gag upon the native press. He said, "It is salutary for the supreme authority to look to the control of public scrutiny;" it would be well if Lord Lytton would say much the same thing at the present juncture. The utterance of the Marquis of Hastings is an axiom that seems trite and common-place to the English reader, but it was of unwonted import at the time it was spoken, and to the inhabitants of an Eastern land where reverence of State dignities is engrained in the life until it becomes as much a part of existence as breathing, and criticism would, except with bated breath and in a whisper, never be indulged in. Indeed, the story is told of Dr. Henderson's paper, that when, after a few years' tenure of the editorial chair, he gave place to a Muhammadan whom he had trained—not merely to compile news and to make judicious extracts, but also to discuss passing events and express opinions upon proposed or completed acts of the authorities, the people were much

* Art. "Early Bengali Literature and Newspapers." *Calcutta Review*, 1850.

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called *Digdashan*, described as "conducted on a plan similar to that of the Penny and Saturday Magazines of England." This was soon after followed by the *Brahmanical Magazine*, edited by the celebrated Ram Mohun Roy. The effect of newspapers and cheap literature generally has been both to purify and enrich the language in which they are printed. Notably is this the case in Bengal. What Dante did for the Italian language, Wiclif and Shakespeare for the English, and Luther for the German, that has the native Press of India done, and is still doing, for the various tongues in which a printed literature has been established. What has been accomplished in Ceylon in this respect, where the Native papers are of comparatively more recent date than in India, a pundit of some position describes in expressing the following opinion in a letter to the present writer. He says :—"Not the least important influence which the paper [*Lakrivi Kirana*] has been exercising on the literature of the land is this. Before the establishment of the paper, the people were quite indifferent respecting the grammar and correct spelling of the language in which their books were printed. Now a standard has been established, which is acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of Ceylon, with a few unimportant differences, which are the products of different schools, and which there is not a disposition yet to give up. Publishers, too, are now more careful about the 'get up' of their works. Prior to the newspaper period the people hated printed books. Printed tracts and such little works they did accept when offered to them it is true, but it was more out of respect to the giver than any thing else. The gifts were neglected and put to useful purposes other than perusal. Now the current has turned in favor of printed books, which are considered more correct than the old manuscripts."

One very striking fact will at once attract the attention of the English reader as he glances over the titles of the vernacular newspapers. Unlike the colourless "Mercury," "Gazette," "Advertiser," "Times," *et hoc genus omne* of the English journals, the Indian delights in most grandiose titles : nothing less than the superlative will satisfy him. This will appear from the annexed list of Bengali papers with their titles translated into English :—

Vernacular.

Hitakári ...
Banga Bandhu
Barahanagar Patrika Samachar
Dharma Tatwa ..
Bama Bodhini Patrika ..
Suhar Samachar
Samachar Chandrika
Som Prakash
Utkala Dipika

Translation.

Helper, or Benefactor.
Bengal Friend.
Barahanagar Fortnightly News.
Essence of Religion.
Magazine for Enlightening Women.
Easily-obtainable Newspaper.
Moon of News.
Manifestor of Moon-[light.]
Uriya Illuminator.

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<i>Vernacular.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
Bhagvat Tatva Bodhiká	Manifesting God's Essence.
Chikita Darpan	Mirror of the Healing Art.
Durbín	The Telescope.
Arunodai, ...	Dawn of Light.
Hito Shadhini	Accomplisher of Welfare.
Assam Bilashini	Assam Pleasure Seeker.
Banga Mihir	Sun of Bengal.
Rahasya Sandaru	A Bundle of Curiosities.
	Mediator.
Biswa Darsan	Review of the Universe.
Mitra Prakás	Manifestation of Friends.
Grambari ...	The Villager.
Santi Prodaini	Giver of Peace.
Biswa Duta	Messenger of the Universe.
Sarbatha Sanpuhm	Compilation of All Valuables.
Prajá Hitaishini	Well wisher of the People.
Abokás Toshini	Pleasant Leisure
Bhagvat Bhakti Prodaini	Giver of Faith in God.
Juanákara ...	Mine of News.
Purna Sasi , ...	Full Moon.

Dipping into the pages of the journals of which the above may be taken as a fair sample, but especially those extra-metropolitan, or not published in the Presidency towns, the student of history would be struck with the curious ante-19th century air, which seems to pervade their contents. British occupation has yet altered scarcely a single village practice, and its influence is not much felt except on the sea-coast and in the neighbourhood of large towns and cities. In reading these papers one seems to get at the back of existing things, to become *au courant* with a state of life which is now exactly what it was many generations since. The intervening centuries have passed over these villages and have left no formation which cannot be read almost at a glance. The harvest of experience is all contained in the memories of one generation. It is often a subject of complaint with historians that the records to which they have access, tell mainly of the exploits of a daring soldier or of the machinations of a skilled diplomatist, while the daily toiling life of the masses is altogether ignored. It is a fancy of the writer of this paper, born of considerable observation of the matter, that in the contents of the first forty or fifty years of vernacular newspapers in India, whilst European influence upon the village or district was but slight, may be found, by the student who is not scared at a multiplicity of petty details, a state of things described which will enable him to depict with marvellous accuracy the under-current of town and village life, in the days when great and notable epochs of the land's history were occurring. There would be thus supplied a vivid and complete back-ground of interesting facts which would throw much light upon the actions of the indivi-

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duals upon whom historical research has hitherto been engaged, some of whose actions could thus alone be made decipherable.

Before proceeding to review the native newspaper history of each Presidency, it may not be amiss to take a bird's-eye glance over the whole field, for the purpose of comparison (as regards numbers only) with the English newspapers in India, and also to observe the extent of circulation, the (ascertained) influence of the journals upon the people amongst whom they circulate, and by what sections of the community they are read. In 1875* the following statistical statement, compiled from details obtained from each Presidency, represented the entire Press of India :—

<i>Bengal.</i>			<i>Oudh.</i>		
Vernacular Papers	88	English 49	Vernacular Papers	14	English 3
Anglo-Vernacular „	14		Anglo-Vernacular „	4	
	102			18	
<i>Madras.</i>			<i>Sindh.</i>		
Vernacular Papers	26	English 31	Vernacular Papers	3	English 4
Anglo-Vernacular „	32		Anglo-Vernacular „	1	
	58				
<i>Bombay.</i>			<i>Rajputana.</i>		
Vernacular Papers	66	English 37	Vernacular Papers	2	English 0
Anglo-Vernacular „	20		Anglo-Vernacular „	1	
	86				
<i>North-West Provinces.</i>			<i>British Burmah.</i>		
Vernacular Papers	58	English 13	Vernacular Papers	2	English 14
Anglo-Vernacular „	7				
	65				
<i>Punjab.</i>			<i>Ceylon</i>		
Vernacular Papers	31	English 7	Vernacular Papers	5	English 5
Anglo-Vernacular „	1		Anglo-Vernacular „	1	
	32			6	
<i>Central Provinces.</i>					
Vernacular Papers	3	English 3			
Anglo-Vernacular „	3				
	6				

This shows 382 Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular (circulating chiefly among Natives) against 166 English papers. Allowing 400

* It should be understood that the facts related in this paper were gathered in 1874 and 1875. The writer has, of set purpose, avoided dealing with matters of later date which he has collated and set in order for use, upon which opinion has

been much divided, e.g., the Fuller case and kindred matters. Besides, Dr. Birdwood, before the Society of Arts, London, has lately dealt exhaustively with the papers of the past two years.

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subscribers as an average to each of the vernacular papers—(a low average it may be, seeing that the *Lakrivi Kirana*, "Sunbeam of Ceylon," has no fewer than 1600 subscribers, but, on the other hand, the papers in the North-West Provinces in 1871 averaged only 215 each)—the total of a simultaneous issue is 152,800 copies. This may seem a poor result when contrasted with the daily circulation of one London paper only, whose single issue reaches to this height; but it should be borne in mind that a native paper in India has many readers, and the approximate total mentioned would need greatly multiplying to arrive at the number of people by whom these journals are read. In times not yet ancient in England, when newspapers were expensive, two or three or more persons would club together to purchase a paper which passed from hand to hand, and a journal had thus a wider reading constituency than its circulation list alone would seem to indicate. This principle applies to India and Ceylon; and a case, which is but a sample of many, is on record where a single newspaper served a whole village. When the copy was received the people were called together, its contents read, explained, and discussed. Bearing this in mind, the Native Press of India will be found to be no insignificant factor in the social life of the Empire.

Passing over the interesting speculations suggested by the fact, that where English papers most abound, there native papers are large in numbers, we may pass on to notice the people amongst whom they circulate. This point may be succinctly summed up in the remark that the papers are most read by those who most need the help they are able to give. These are the directing, active sections of the population, those who bear the burden and heat of the day in the machinery of social life as distinguished from those who are the actual busy bees working in the hive,—the artisans and the labourers. These latter, in India, are as yet but slightly influenced, except intermediately, by the newspapers. Still the wave of public opinion raised by the journals is not altogether spent and its force quite exhausted before these two great masses of the people are reached. Amongst the traders, the petty headmen, and those who do business in the Courts, the Kachcheries and in the schools, the native newspapers are an acknowledged force, "the terror to evil-doers" such as was desiderated by the Jewish King Solomon amongst a people much like Indians in many respects. How sensitive some of the wealthy and influential people of India are to criticism even of the mildest kind, to take an illustrative incident, was shown a short while since, A correspondent of the *Satyakankaraya* ("Beauty of Truth"), a Ceylon paper, innocently and in good faith suggested that a well-known and wealthy family did not aid Moratuwa, the village in

which they lived, as they should, and suggested ways in which they could be of service in the District. Such an opinion was not acceptable to the head of the family who at once visited Colombo to seek counsel of the Queen's Advocate, with a view to an action in the Courts, but the Judges were never troubled with the incident. It is, however, as a check upon the rapacity of petty officials that most good has resulted to the people at large from vernacular and Anglo-vernacular papers. Those aggrieved at unjust or illegal conduct on the part of these men—who, in the East, know better, by an exaltation of their office how to “play fantastic tricks before high heaven” than any other people, find that “writing to the paper” is a ready means of stopping these evils. The conductor of a vernacular journal told the writer that he “often received letters from correspondents in many parts of the country, stating that misdemeanours complained of, such as gambling, illicit sales of intoxicating drinks, cattle stealing, cock-fighting, misconduct of unsalaried officials and the like had altogether disappeared through the influence of the press. Moreover some of the officials had come to like to be well spoken of in the papers and to fear their censures.” In Bengal, the Babus of university education are credited, and justly, with being the mainstay of the vigorous press of that Presidency. Native papers there circulate amongst a larger proportion of people who have been educated, who also know something more of the world outside India than do the inhabitants generally of any other part of the continent. Bombay is little inferior to the eastern Presidency in the literary tastes of many of its inhabitants, while the tone of its vernacular papers is at once bolder and more out-spoken in censure of some of the acts of the authorities. This is due partly to the fact that more energy is thrown into the conduct of the English papers in Bombay than in Calcutta; this affects the native prints in arousing the imitative faculties of their conductors. Madras Presidency has, generally, an agrarian population, not much commerce, and not much life. Consequently, its vernacular papers are behind nearly all others in India in number, power, and influence. Respecting the North West Provinces and the Punjab little need be said but what will appear in its proper place.

Of one fact there can be little question, viz., that the Native papers have acquired the confidence of the people with whom they are brought into contact, and what appears in the columns of these journals may be looked upon as an expression of feeling which has behind it a very considerable force. In the West, characteristic of the people, something only a little less than war is declared against the *status quo*; and “the British raj” is occasionally abused in strong terms. On the other hand, in the South and East, a milder influence is exerted, and the attempt is made to

show that the British mode of ruling through native channels is best calculated to uplift India, and that the best policy for the people is to help the Government to the best of their ability. Each of these races expresses itself by the mode most consonant to its genius, and no more disastrous consequences are to be feared from the outspoken frankness of the Western Indian papers, than from the milder tone of the Bengali and the Madras journals if only substantial justice be done to all by the authorities. Still, when all is said and done, newspaper influence on the masses of India at present is very like the means of cultivation current amongst the agriculturists of the land almost from time immemorial. The mind of the native is merely scratched on its surface just as two or three inches of soil are turned over by the inefficient plough the people use. Save and except this notable fact: the men who are the leaders of the people, are those most strongly influenced by the papers, and they it is who give the *mot d'ordre* by which the masses are moved. Looked at in this light, and in view of the education which is now being formed from high-class training, the Indian Vernacular Press has no inconsiderable power. Indirectly, its effects are mighty: actually it is an infant in whom there is uncommonly great promise,—budding fruit which it will require many years to mature.

An interesting and amusing sketch a few years ago appeared in the *Indian Economist* (a journal then published at Calcutta, aided largely by Government subsidy) on the subject of the Native Press, and by skilfully-garnered and cleverly arranged extracts the author endeavoured to show that through the weapons of sarcasm and misrepresentation as wielded by native journalists British rule is being shaken to its foundations. The freedom accorded to the writers is, it is urged, the cause of this. Much is made of *excerpts* cleverly extracted from the context; and the position is taken that the power given to the people to publish what they will, should be curtailed, and an official paper started to counteract the calumnies of those papers which are left. But this remedy, as has been pointed out, is manifestly absurd, for though an official paper might be ever so well written and widely-circulated the people could not be compelled to read it. While on the other hand, by the very means used would the greatest offenders, that is the cleverest writers, be stirred to attempt, by the hostility displayed, greater things. The opposition of Government would be the very salt of life to a disaffected writer. In the review, according to Presidencies, here subjoined, use will be made to a slight extent of the sketch referred to; but the writer of this paper finds himself compelled to come to conclusions diametrically opposed to those enunciated by Mr. Lely, of the Bombay Civil Service, the writer in the *Indian Economist*.

II.

BENGAL.

Bengal, as the birth-place of Indian vernacular newspapers, and as the Presidency in which, perhaps, is most active intellectual life, deserves the first place in any notice of the native press. It is impossible to deal thoroughly with so much as a tithe of the journals tabulated at the end of this section, and, possibly, the fairest way would be to take a batch of papers covering a consecutive period of, say a few weeks, and note the tendencies they evince and the characteristics they display. A batch of about thirty papers for the months of November and December, 1873, when the famine in Behar was impending, now before the writer, seem to form about the fairest sample out of several hundred copies. It is curious to note, from the contents of these journals, that very nearly all the conflicting estimates formed of India by Englishmen, who have never visited the country, but judge it from a distance, by the literature abounding upon it, and the verbal reports they may hear, may be supported. To take one prevalent idea only, to which renewed currency was given by the expression of it in the House of Commons, by Mr. Bright, and its endorsement by the Marquis of Salisbury at Cooper's Hill College, just before the Prince of Wales visited India, and by certain untoward circumstances since, viz., that Europeans ill-treat, and are discourteous to the natives. The following particulars occur in papers of the same date from different districts in Bengal:—

The *Barahanagar Patrika Samachar* is exceedingly grieved to hear that Inspector Buckley, of the Barackpore Station, while in a state of intoxication, entered the shop of an old man named Khetra Nath Ghose of Raabundipore and dealt him a blow which knocked the old man down. On his rising and attempting to escape he was again knocked down. By this time a number gathered to the spot and the Inspector turned upon them. Acts of oppression like this have become as it were an ornament of the police.

Inspector Smith of the Dum-Dum station tore off the beard of a carter for refusing to allow him the use of a cart which had been already bespoken by another party. The authorities ought to take notice of his conduct.

A Correspondent of the *Bishwa Dut*, writing from Berhampore without date, states that whilst the judge, the clergyman, a silk manufacturer and Colonel (name illegible) were engaged in playing at cricket in the field facing the barracks, Bábu Bankim Chatterji, the Deputy Magistrate, happened to be passing in his palanquin along a bye-path across the same; whereupon the Colonel, speaking in the Hindi language, prevented the bearers from proceeding: this led Bankim Bábu to remonstrate, saying, that as he was in the habit of passing by that way every day he would do so on this occasion also; but on the Colonel further using threats, the Bábu cited the Judge as a witness to this proceeding, and on his going to do the same to the clergyman, the Colonel in a loud voice said, "Go hence," and suiting

the action to the words, laid hold of his hand and pushed him away. On a charge being brought against the Colonel, and the facts proved by evidence, and the Judge finding himself in a dilemma, and being cited as a witness by the Colonel, he wrote to the Bábu, saying that the Colonel wished to be forgiven, as no one at the time knew him to be Bankim Bábu; but the latter insisted upon an apology being given as publicly as the insult was offered, which was at last done by the Colonel; and so the matter dropped. Be that as it may, the Bengalis have for a long time been subjected to insults; what wonder is it, then, that they should be exempt in the estimation of the mofussil authorities.*

Other cases of a similar kind are mentioned, but they need not be quoted. It should be borne in mind that every case of this nature which occurs is eagerly recorded, and that the most is made of them by the conductors of these journals. Still it would be in the highest degree unfair to judge of the ordinary English treatment of the people of India by the foregoing extracts. Since Railways have been made, and owing to other similar causes, many Englishmen of the lower orders, with whom a blow is too ready when anger is aroused, have come to India; and it is these mainly, who, in their disputes with the natives, strike them and give rise to the complaints which are made. But, be it far from us to cast a stigma on the Railway Servants of India, who, taken on the whole, are a body of men worthily sustaining the British name in the East for high-mindedness and justice.

The leading articles of the papers under notice, are, most of them very temperately written, and apparently with a full knowledge of the subject treated. Bearing in mind that it is of Mofussil journals that mention is now being made, no hesitation can be felt in venturing the statement that they would favourably compare with a similar treatment of local topics in English country papers. "While translating the articles of one of these papers," says a gentleman in a letter on this subject, "I am frequently compelled to admire the happy and yet forcible treatment of social matters which marks whatever is written in the editorial columns of this paper." The Bengali papers are strong in recommendations for legislation, having only too great a belief in the efficacy of Acts of Parliament. The *Som Prakás* is particularly anxious that a special Act for the prevention of cruelty to animals should be passed. In spite of the merciful tendencies which the *creeds* of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and kindred beliefs impress upon the people of the East there is nothing that so sadly "strikes a stranger" as the cruelty displayed to animals. It is a

* These extracts are from a "Report on Native Papers" published weekly in Bengal, translations of the contents being made by a Government Translator.

These Reports were formerly sent to the Editors of English papers; They are now treated as confidential; but we believe that some change in this respect is not improbable.

hopeful sign to find the papers discountenancing the practice. The *Samachar Chandrika* in criticizing Sir George Campbell's policy as Lieut-Governor of Bengal, makes a remark which should be received with all respect from so "much-married" a people as the Hindus. This paper says:—"Among His Honor's faults are reckoned his acting independent of the counsel of others, and his hastiness (*lit.*, hot-headedness) for which we cannot blame him, as he never was married, and a man who has no wife can never pursue an even path." With regard to the (then) 'approaching famine most useful hints are given to Government; the people are told of other food-stuffs than rice upon which they could sustain life, and where these edibles could be found; the Zemindars were recommended to sell their jewels and not to lock up their money in that form of wealth; the British Indian Association was advised to leave off drafting Bills for the legislature and to attend to practical matters; while every body was besought, during this period of trial to spend less money than was customary on marriages and religious festivals. Mr. Lely makes a point of the papers charging Government with being the cause of the famine, but nowhere have we been able to find this seriously advanced, and he does not quote his authority for the statement. Beyond a misconception of the action taken by Lord Northbrook, shared in common with their Anglo-Indian contemporaries, and caused by the secret way in which the Governor-General provided against the famine in his purchases of rice all that the vernacular papers said about the scarcity was very creditable: in this crisis they deserved well of their country. Appreciation of English generosity in the impending famine time is exhibited, although it is often enough stated that Orientals have no word in their vocabulary answering to "gratitude" in the English tongue. The *Sadhārani* remarks that "notwithstanding all England, as shown by its daily papers, is busy with the Ashanti war, yet the Lord Mayor of London, on hearing of the impending famine in India, proposed to open a subscription for the distressed, and the merchants offered to send back to India the rice taken from it, for all which gracious acts may the blessing of God rest upon these generous merchants, and may they live long."

Mr. Fawcett is frequently mentioned, and the efforts he is making in the House of Commons for the welfare of India are appreciated; the Hon'ble Member for Hackney may look upon the whole of Bengal and much of Western India, as included in the constituency he represents. Bengali Editors are not so bad as the compilers of English news for French papers, but one of the former in the *Sulabha Samachar* changed Kirkcaldy into Kirkan-diburg. The Circumlocution Office, for all the ceremoniousness of the Hindu character, is as mercilessly held up to ridicule in Bengal

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as in England. The *Saptahik Samachar* makes a remark *à propos* to a change of Governors which may be quoted as an antidote to some disrespectful remarks made by some of the Bombay papers of their rulers. This journal says :—

The Bengalis have always reposed confidence in the English, and therefore it was that they sought the assistance of Olive to deliver them from the hands of the wicked Suraj-ud-dowla ; and the English too have always shown a liking for the Bengalis ; but Sir George Campbell has, all of a sudden, altered the policy under which the Bengalis were hitherto prospering and at ease. Either Mr. Eden or Mr. Bayley should be appointed to the post, for Bengal requires such a ruler as loves its people.

Further on, the same paper remarks, somewhat* ludicrously :—
“ The educated Bengalis are much devoted to the English, whom they copy in a great many things, such as throwing out the foot (!), position in standing, pronunciation, wearing apparel, and a great liking for what the English eat and drink.” Unfortunately the last cited “liking” too frequently takes the form of “ of soda and Brandy and bottled beer. Referring to native officers of native Regiments the *Hindu Ranjika* thinks they ought to be educated, and insists “ that the passing of an examination in Mathematics ought to be made as compulsory upon native officers as it is now upon the officers of European Regiments. The Mutiny of 1857 would not have occurred if the (native) officers had been educated men.”

As a general rule progressiveness in matters relating to agriculture is advocated, but oftentimes little aid is given to the ryots, who sadly need assistance. The Rev. Dr. Buckley, of Cuttack, (Orissa,) who has had over 40 years' experience in India, thus writes in a private letter,—after enumerating the various journals of the Province in which the terrible famine of 1866 occurred :—
“ The Editors of these papers, on questions arising where the interests of Zemindars and ryots are conflicting, are always to be found on the side of the strong against the weak. They are much too selfish to open their mouths or move their pens in the interest of the oppressed myriads.” It is consolatory to think that this is somewhat exceptional, and that the power of the labourers, combined in Rent Unions* is often strong enough to beat the Zemindars. The labourers, too, are not unrepresented in the vernacular press.

* On a somewhat smaller scale, yet essentially the same in principle, the agricultural labourers of Bengal had the “courage of their opinions,” and combined against employers long before Mr. Arch had stirred up the

“sudden flow of mutiny” which a few years ago, so angered the British farmer, and led a Bishop of the Established Church to su— in the horse-pond for movement.

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In an article on "Trial by Jury" the *Kanchraparah Patrika* makes some remarks which are too good to be passed over. The appointment of men who have little learning, and whose only recommendation is their wealth, is deprecated. "It is become a common saying now," the Editor remarks, "that if a man has money, whether he be a shop-keeper or a liquor seller, and and whether he has learned to read and write or not, he is considered fit to sit on the jury. Some definite rules should be laid down, whereby the appointment of really able men, well educated, of good moral character, and having the fear of God, should be secured." As an instance of the abuse of power by zemindars the *Sulabha Samachar* gives a tabulated statement of suits instituted in the Serampore Moonsiff's Court, for petty amounts of rents: 370 suits in all were instituted, 29 for sums under one anna, 42 under two annas, and so on, the highest amount being eight annas. Some of these papers are not slow in recognising enterprise. The *Calcutta Darpan* warmly advocates the making of tramways and railways.

The *Som Prakas* deals with the large question of the connection between England and India, in which it is argued that only through the native Rajahs can a hold be obtained on the hearts of the people; hence the action of the Supreme authorities against Baroda was deprecated. A passage in the article under reference runs:—
 "*** From this we think that England can never gain the heart of India, never, certainly by outward means only. We can respond to tokens of affection; if hate be given we can return hatred; if they boast of their civilization, seeing they are the conquering race, we with fears give up our long-held civilization. If England behaves badly or cruelly towards us, we will hold God as a witness, and curse it in our very hearts. If, on the other hand, England assimilates us into its own body, we can then only feel desirous for its welfare." For language, similar to this, expressed by the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*,* Sir George Campbell publicly took up his parable against the Native Papers, dwelling mainly upon such remarks as the foregoing; but this

* Mr. Lely, quotes the following from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of May, 1875:—

"Come, come dear pale-faced red-haired fellow-subjects. Leave off this sanctimonious tone, we know very well what you are, and you very well know that we have penetrated through your masks: When you come to preach to us of high morality, honesty, truth, and so forth, we admire your impudence, but we frankly tell you

that you must seek some other way to impose upon us." This is unquestionably coarse and in very bad taste; but it would be as reasonable to stigmatize the British Press as unworthy of confidence, because of the rubbish published by the Member for Stoke, in the *Englishman*, as to say that because the *A. B. Patrika* foolishly raves, the whole native press is disloyal and should be curbed.

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censurè was fairly met by Dr. George Smith, then retiring from the editorial chair of the *Friend of India*, in a speech which he made at Bombay. He said that the blots complained of were but as spots on the sun compared with the vast amount of public good the Bengali papers were doing, and the still greater good they were likely to do.

What some fairly representative Bengali papers have to say for themselves, may not be unfittingly quoted here, it being premised that what is stated was written in reply to letters seeking information. The three selected, are two Metropolitan journals and a Mofussil Paper:—

The Hindu Patriot.

The *Patriot* was started in 1853 by a Babu, now deceased, who was also its Editor. Its first proprietor was Baboo Madhusudan Roy, of Calcutta, who, after a year made over the property to the Editor. The last named gentleman continued Proprietor and Editor till June, 1861, when he died. The good-will was then purchased by the late Babu Kaliprasanna Singh, who placed it under the editorial management of Babu Chunder Mookerjee, at present Editor of *Mookerjee's Magazine*. This gentleman conducted the paper for about six months. Babu Kristodas Pal took charge of the paper in December, 1861, and has since continued to act as Editor and Manager.

The *Patriot* is an organ of native opinion. Its political faith is loyalty to the British Crown and justice to the millions. It seeks to represent all classes of the native population. It is conservative, inasmuch as it repels unreasoning attacks on the institutions of the country; and liberal, inasmuch as it advocates progress and reform in consonance with the improved education and sympathies of the people. It looks upon British rule in India as a great blessing, and at the same time seeks those advantages and privileges for the people which they are taught to look for, from the high and righteous principles which the great British nation professes in the administration of this country.

The *Patriot* is regarded as the national organ of the country at large, as it seeks to be the exponent of the wants, wishes, and feelings of all the native races inhabiting this vast Peninsula.

There can be no question that the views and opinions which find expression in the *Patriot* are respected by the Indian Government and public. The authorities have shown their appreciation of the Editor's services by making him a member of the Calcutta Court of Justices, and offering him a seat in the Bengal Legislative Council, which he has accepted.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika.

This paper was started in February, 1868, in Amrita Bazar, a village twelve miles from Jessore, Bengal. When four years old it was removed to Calcutta, still retaining, however, the same name.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is a very popular paper. It is considered to be the native's organ. It has the largest circulation amongst the native press, the number of its subscribers being a little less than 1,500. The Government regard it as an able and honest, but extremely anti-English paper. It is published weekly, on Thursday, its annual subscription being Rs. 8, inclusive of postage.

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The Moorshedabad Patrika.

The *Patrika* is a new journal, having been established in April, 1872. Its political principles are liberal, and it is neutral on all religious matters.

One of the chief objects of the *Patrika* is to supply its readers with local news, with interesting information regarding the districts of Moorshedabad and Central Bengal generally, and to discuss all measures which have reference to the development of the material resources of the districts which it serves, and to the improvement,—social, municipal, and moral of the people.

The *Patrika*, however, does not confine itself to the politics of our little Pedlington; it now and then addresses itself to questions of larger and wider interests, to subjects connected with the advancement of the people of India in general and of Bengal in particular.

The principle on which this paper is conducted is the greatest good of the largest number. It advocates any and every measure, the aim of which is to promote the good and further the interests of our countrymen at large.

At this point, in dealing with the Bengali papers, a halt must be made though masses of material lie yet untouched. Some remarks on the loyalty of the journals may be fittingly left to a general summing up, after a detailed reference to the papers of the respective Presidencies. Meanwhile, a list is appended of all the native papers in Bengal at the time when the information for these remarks was gathered, *viz.*, early in 1874:—

LIST OF BENGALI VERNACULAR PAPERS.*

I.

Banga Bandhu, Dacca.
Parimal Bahini, Moharajgunge.
Paksik Samachar, Barabanagar.
Indian Mirror, Calcutta (daily).
Ubalabandhab, Calcutta.
Amrita Bazar Patrika, Ditto.
Sangbád Purna Chandroday, Calcutta (daily).
Education Gazette.
Hindu Hitaishini, Dacca.
The Durbin, Calcutta.
Halishhar Patarika, Ditto.
Jita Shadhini, Barisal.
Prachin Purn Sangraha, Calcutta.
Saptahik Paridarsak, Ditto.
Behar Bandhu, Ditto.
Rungpore Dikprákás, Kakueab.
Banga Mibir, Bhowanipore.
Biswa Duta, Ditto.
Kaayanubád, Calcutta.
Saptahik Samachar, Ditto.
Pali Poridarsak Pubba.
The Morning Beam, Calcutta (daily).

Bhagvat Bhakti Pradaini, Cuttack.
Hemistay, Calcutta.
Sadháraní, Chinsurah.
The Bidesi, Cuttack.
Banga Darpane, Barisal.
Hitakáry, Calcutta.
Pratna Kumro Nuudini, Serampore.
Bama Bodhini Patrika, Calcutta.
Samachar Chandrika, Ditto. •
The Bengalee, Ditto.
Barta Boho, Barisal.
Dacca Prakás, Dacca.
Bhagvat Tatwa Bodhika, Berhampore.
Chikitsa Darpan, Chinsurah.
Akbar-ul-Akhyai, Mozufferpore.
Arunai Sibsagar.
Assam Bilashini Jorehaut.
Gram Dut Burrisaul.
Rajshye News, Boalia.
Moorshedabad Patrika, Berhampore.
Madna Garala Tatwa, Calcutta.
Banga Vidya Prakashika, Calcutta (daily).

* A few of the publications in this list are published Monthly, and strictly speaking, are not Newspapers.

Biswa Darsan, Calcutta.
Grambasti, Rangghat.
Guana Bikasini Patrika, Pubna.
Carcutta Prakās, Calcutta.
Ei-ek-Ranga, Ditto.
Sangbad Bahika, Balasore.
Orissa Patriot, Cuttack.
Sama Vedak, Berhampore.
Bhārat Suhrid, Calcutta.
The Durpan, Ditto.
Utkal Darpana, Balasore.
Gram Basti Prokashika, Coomercolly.
Dharma Tatwa, Calcutta.
Sulabh Somachar, Ditto.
Rajasthaner Itibritto, Ditto.
Somprakās, Chaugripota.
Chasm-i-Tam, Bankipore.
Utkal Dipika, Cuttack.
Desh Hitaishini, Serajunge.

Hindoo Patriot, Calcutta.
Tatwabadhini Patrika, Ditto.
Guldaste Naizir, Gya.
Saptahik Sangbad, Bhowanipore.
Rahasya Sandaru, Calcutta.
Madhyasta, Ditto.
Barripore Chikita, Barripore.
Utkal Putia, Cuttack.
The Duta, Calcutta.
Balaranjika, Madareepore.
Vijana Vikasa, Khurda.
Sahachara, Calcutta.
Prajā Hitaishini, Khagra.
People's Friend, Calcutta.
Abakasa Tolim, Bhowanipore.
Moorshedabad Rahasya, Calcutta.
Chundernagore Patrika, Chinsurah.
Kanchaiaparah Patrika, Kancha-
parah.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Second in importance as regards the number of its journals, Bombay can scarcely be said to take a lower place than Bengal in "vigour and rigour" of any kind. Its energetic Anglicized Parsee population, and the generally martial character of the inhabitants of the States under the direct rule or "protection" of the Presidency Governor, introduce us to vernacular newspapers whose stamp is altogether different to the publications of the Bengali, and yet, as has been already remarked, properly treated, they are not one whit more dangerous to the ruling powers, than is the softer speech of the editor of the Eastern India *Patrika* or *Prakāsh*. A copy of the *Rast Goftar*, taken at random, will suffice to prove this. The mere enumeration of the headings of the articles will, at once show an altered tone. They are as follows:—"Baroda in Hot Water." "Tramways *versus* Buggies." "The Departed Reformer of Happy Memory." "The Rustomji Jamsetji Memorial Fund." "Bombay in Times of War." "Plantain the King of Fruits." "A Year's Progress in Vaccination." "The Future of the Parsees." "The Examination for the office of a Native Subordinate Magistrate." "Overland Railway between England and India." "Usefulness of a Free Native Press." "The Petition of the Bombay Association against the Revenue Jurisdiction Bill." &c. Bombay has become the "gateway" of India, and in addition to the influence of those settled in the city, the continual stream of European thought and action passing through, have a strong reflex impress upon the native journalists of the capital of the Presidency, and its immediate neighbourhood. The three leading vernacular papers are the *Rast Goftar*, *Indu Prakās* and the *Guesarat Mitra*. While each and all of these not unfrequently pen what

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Dean Stanley, addressing the Newspaper Press Fund of England, calls "terrific leaders," they oftentimes inculcate the soundest sense in a most graphic manner. Like the trunk of the elephant nothing is too small to be passed over, nothing too great to be grasped. Mr. Lely extracts the following from the *Indu Prakās*, which is creditable to the common sense of the writer:—

"As a family will become prosperous if every member of it works hard and denies himself, so will a nation. Every one is crying out that the present Government is eating us up like a rat, but no one thinks what is the real truth of the case. . . . We have not lost but gained by the English rule and have fallen into our dependent condition by our own negligence, which is a most shameful thing to us. Foreigners take our raw materials, and having made them fit for use, give them back to us, and charge us what price they like. We are ignorant babies and have to eat food chewed in another's mouth. Then, friends, . . . let us cast away our indolence and gird up our loins and strive to increase the skilled arts among us !"

While in regard to that base imitation of the characteristics of the European, which is neither flattering to the imitator nor to the imitated, we have the following utterances:—

"To put on English boots, to wear a collar round the neck, to talk an Anglified Hindustani, to swagger about, all this does no good when allied with bad conduct."—(*Akbar-i-Alam.*)

"Civilization does not consist in imitating English dress, or in wearing a huge turban, a long coat, and a gold stripe round the waist, tight trousers, and English boots. It consists in improvement of the character."—(*Noor-ud-Absar.*)

Their (i. e., our educated youths') highest ambition is to be able to talk English with a police inspector, a station master, or a coaching-clerk, and to be able to strike terror into the hearts of railway peons by a few hideous sentences dirtily scrawled in the handsome and highly-glazed pages of the Complaint Book. The estimate which the conceited Parsee or Hindoo forms of himself is higher than is warranted by his genius or capacity.—(*Guzerat Mitra.*)

The *Guzerat Mitra*, which is the property of, and is edited by Dinshah Ardeshir, a Parsee of much ability, whose pamphlet on "The Impending Revolution in Baroda, 1873-1874," was useful in attracting attention to the wretched conduct of the affairs of that State, is a journal of acknowledged influence, though it now and again goes out of its way to pen criticism of English men and English doings, whereby it lays itself open to the assaults of the Philistines of the Anglo-Indian press, who do not spare it. In treating of purely native concerns, it is trustworthy, which is more than can be said of its lucubrations in English. However, a criticism of Mr. Grant Duff, on the occasion of his visit to India, two years ago, may be quoted as likely to interest readers in England. It is as follows:—

Mr. Grant Duff is a disciple of Richard Cobden, but he has not a particle of that eminent statesman's humanity. Compare the energy of Mr. Cobden, his love of man, his love especially of the poor and of the laboring man,

with the temperament of the member for Elgin. For observe, he came to India, and went to Matheran, and in the notes which he has published in the *Contemporary Review* of his travels in this country, he has no other word to use for the gardeners of Matheran than 'savages'. Nor is Mr. Grant Duff inferior to Richard Cobden in humanity only and in greatness of soul; he is also inferior to him in eloquence, for the 'unadorned eloquence' of Cobden has not often been surpassed in the British Senate.

In this Presidency the experiment of publishing a cheap newspaper for the masses has been made, and has proved successful. The *Dnyān Chakshu* is one of the cheapest journals in the world, in fact the cheapest when the cost of production in India is taken into consideration. It is published at Poona, the subscription being one rupee and two annas per annum, and, being published once a week, this is less than one half-penny per copy. It was specially established in the interests of the very poor, who were unable to purchase the higher-priced English and Native papers. Its object is prominently put forward as the enlightenment of the poorer classes of the community, an object which it is held to worthily fill in a manner not antagonistic to the better side of English rule. As might be expected from its cheapness the *Chakshu* has, by far, the largest circulation in the Bombay Presidency. The *Chakshu*, like many other vernacular journals, was lithographed in the earlier days of its existence, but it soon passed into an improved position by which the use of type became necessary.

There is a great sameness in all the native journals; in Bombay, not quite so much as elsewhere perhaps. They have scarcely yet reached the stage when individual characteristics can be stamped upon them. In this they differ exceedingly from their Anglo-Indian contemporaries. When the history of the English Press in India comes to be faithfully written, it will be found to consist very much of a series of biographical sketches. Without the many subjects and manifold resources of British journalism to fall back upon, the editor and proprietor (this is frequently the connection) of an English newspaper in India, exercises a personal influence over every part of the paper, in a manner and to an extent hardly practicable elsewhere. The impersonality of the higher English journals is a state yet to be evolved in India. Two of the vernacular papers, at least, however, exhibit from an Indian standpoint the incarnation of personality, to which reference has been made, as marking the leading English papers, viz, the *Hindu Patriot*, with the Hon'ble Kristodas Pal, and the *Guzerat Mitra*, with Dinshah Ardesheer, as the conductors respectively. All the others display a monotony which is well nigh appalling so far as the editorial columns are concerned, and relief is only found in the news and correspondence columns, where the incidents that go to round off the daily life of town and village are described. An exception ought, perhaps, to be made in the case of

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the native papers published in the city of Bombay: the leading articles in their columns during the riots between Mussalmáns and Parsees in 1872 were of great influence, and had a marked effect upon the action of the Parsee community, if not also upon some of the other communities in the city. When education has spread only a little farther and vernacular journalism becomes more of a real power, Bombay is certain to be in the front. There is nothing further of special importance to detail respecting the papers of this presidency, except to append the following list of native journals:—

The Bhoot, Bombay.
 Bodh Soodakhur, Sattara.
 Hitechu, Kaladgie.
 Toolsuorit Ramayen, Bombay.
 Yezdanperist, Bombay.
 Sooryodaya, Tanna.
 Bombay Somachar, Bombay (daily).
 Nyaya Tatwa, Ahmedabad.
 Dnyanodaya, Bombay.
 Guzerat Mitra, Surat.
 Dnyan Chukshu, Poona.
 Khandeish Vaibhava, Dhoolia.
 Broach Vurtman, Broach.
 Arya Mitra, Bombay.
 Nassick Veit, Nassick.
 Vepar Mitra, Bombay (daily).
 Parashu, Jamkhirdee.
 Hindu Punch, Tanna.
 Jugan Mitra, Rutnagherry.
 Bombay Mitra, Bombay.
 Kulpintum, Sholapore.
 Hind uReformer and Mitradaya, Bombay.
 Parsee Punch, Bombay.
 Kattyawar Somachar, Rajkote.
 Niti Prakás, Kaira.
 Native Opinion, Bombay.

Daily Prabhakeer, Bombay.
 Suttia Shodhuka, Rutnagherry.
 Rast Gofar, Bombay.
 Belgaum Sumachar, Belgaum.
 Sudnyan Bodhuk, Bombay (bi-weekly).
 Dnyan Bodhuk, Dharwar.
 Chandrodaya, Amedabad.
 Doonia Dad Futre, Neriod.
 Vaipa Sumachar, Bombay (daily).
 Dnyan Prakás, Poona. (bi-weekly)
 Shooobha Soobhaka, Sattara.
 Loka Kully Anechu, Poona.
 Indu Prukaash, Bombay.
 Arroonodaya, Tanna.
 Dryana Sagara, Kolapore.
 Amedabad Somachar, Ahmadabad.
 Jam-i-Jamshed, Bombay. (daily)
 Somschor Bahadoor, Ahmadabad.
 Nyaya Sindoo, Ahmadnagar.
 Loka Mitra, Bombay.
 Maharastra Mitra, Sattara.
 Surya Prakás, Surat.
 Hindu Punch, Bombay.
 Khed Vurtman, Kaira.
 Swadesh Hittechu, Bombay.
 Vurtman Dipika, Bombay.
 Vidaya Vinoda, Limree. (Kathiáwar)*

MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

This Presidency is the Cinderella of the Governmental divisions of India, so far as being last of all in commercial enterprise and other matters, is concerned; he would be a bold prophet who would venture to assert that the parallel with the fairy story might be pursued further and Madras described as likely eventually in things commercial at least to put the other Presidencies to shame. There can be no question that since the days of the storming of Seringapatam, when Clive and Duplex contended for the possession of the South of India, this portion of the Continent has been

* Where not otherwise stated, the papers named are published once a week.

very much in the position of that proverbial country which has no history, and is, therefore, held to be happy. Its annals though respectable, are undeniably dull. While the Mutiny of 1857 raged in various parts of the land, there was peace in all the borders of Madras. Its sea coasts, the Coromandel and the Malabar, have few ports, and its export trade is comparatively insignificant, small by the side of the Island of Ceylon to the South-East for instance. Notwithstanding these and other drawbacks, a good work of education and civilisation has been done, which places the Presidency, in respect to internal progress, as a whole, on a level with the foremost of the great divisions of India, and in advance of others, yet it is a bad fourth in the number of its vernacular journals, even though its English newspapers are relatively large in proportion and are ably conducted. Twenty-six purely native papers, are all that are registered, while of the Anglo-Vernacular journals, thirty-two in number, a large proportion of them (nineteen) are District Gazettes, under the management of European officials, and strictly confined to the notification of official orders, &c. Nowhere in India, perhaps, are the native newspapers less potent in their influence on the people than in Madras. In fact, the description given by the Agent of *Native Public Opinion*, published in Vepery, Madras, in its colourless and periphrastic reference to itself, is curiously applicable to all the vernacular journals of the Presidency. This description runs:—"The paper belongs to no party. It does not advocate total annihilation of existing things, simply because change is a sign of progress, nor adheres to them simply because they have been so long in existence." This is apparently very broad, yet in reality so narrow that it may be commended for adoption in an election address of that curious political hybrid, the Liberal-Conservative, a lineal descendant of Mr. Facing-both-ways of John Bunyan's allegory.

The Muhammadans are among the more active and enlightened of the inhabitants, and during the time that the late Lord Hobart was Governor of Madras they were in high favour. The experience gained in Turkey by this nobleman—himself one of the most consistent of the aristocratic followers of Richard Cobden—pre-possessed him in favour of the Musalmáns of Southern India. Consequently, notice ought first to be taken of their journals, not merely because of the fact stated, but also for the reason that these number a full third of the vernacular prints. But a numbness, which seems almost born of the burning heat of the vast plains which encircle the few mountain ranges, that make a back-bone to this part of India, seems to have taken hold of the intellect of these (otherwise) energetic people. Captain (now Colonel) Tyrrell, Persian translator to Government, after giving ample summaries

of four Muhammadan papers, remarks: "In all the above paragraphs there is not a line of original matter;" while of the Reuter's telegrams quoted by them he further adds: "The translations of the telegrams must be Greek to those who read them, as no attempt is made to give the meanings of European names of persons and places occurring in them. There are Turkish and Arabic words for all the principal countries and cities of Europe, but they are evidently unknown to these journalists, who always use the English words *verbatim*." Evidently, the true use of a newspaper has not yet been grasped by the Madras Musalmán. He can be as fierce in Southern India as, according to Mr. Gifford Palgrave ("Travels in Central Arabia") can his Wabáhi brother in Sind. The outbreaks amongst the Moplahs (*lit.*: Ma-Pillahs, mother's sons; being the offspring of Arab fathers from Hindu mothers) on the Western Coast, prove this. Consequently in his newspaper we should look for "brave words," altogether surpassing those of the bold Babu of Bengal when inditing an article for *Mookerjee's Magazine*, or the ardent Parsee of Bombay who feels patriotic impulses stirring within him. An abstract has been given of the principal contents in an issue of the *Rast Gofiar*; a summary of the contents of the *Talisman of Wonder*, given by Captain Tyrrell, may not be unfittingly quoted here. This number contained:—

"A short piece of advice to readers, informing them that though men can speak better than beasts, yet, a beast is better than a man who does not speak the truth; after which follow some aphorisms in the style of English copy-books. A facetious story translated, if my memory serves me rightly, from Joe Miller's Jest Book. More advice in the sententious style of oriental Poor Richards, Persian charades, &c. News from Hoonsoor, Mysore, Agra, and other places. These articles seem to be written with the intention of being facetious. The only news from Hoonsoor is, that a buffalo calf has come into the world with its head in the middle of its stomach, and that head a man's. The news from Agra is, that a washerman has been fined for overloading his donkey. The article on Mysore news is written in the Mushja or rhyming prose, in which sense is too commonly sacrificed to sound, and contains no news at all. In Baraitel a miracle has occurred; a man's house was burned down, but the holy 'Koran' was found unharmed by the fire in the ruins. The rest of this paper is entirely filled up by translated extracts from the *Overland Mail* and other English and Hindustani papers."

Reference to the Muhammadan press of Madras, already too fully noticed so far as intrinsic worth is concerned, may be concluded by a paragraph relating to the cremation proposal for England propounded by Sir Henry Thompson. "Now that the English," says the *Shams-ul-Akbar*, "are thinking of adopting cremation, the Hindus will imagine that they are copying them, and will conclude that in a short time all the English will without doubt be converted to Hinduism. We imagine that the real cause of the English, or of

some among them, favoring cremation is, that they imagine that the body when burnt is less likely to spread contagion, or to pollute the air; but it is a matter of opinion whether the diffusion of noxious gases from the smoke of a burning corpse is not a greater evil than any that could arise from the decomposition of that corpse under the surface of the ground." So far as this community is concerned, while their present lethargy continues, freedom of the press will not lead to much harm, neither will it do much good. This is also true of the Tamil and Malayalam papers. Dull and decorous. One paper wants a book of obscene songs, which are chanted in the Bazaars, suppressed. An article in a Malayalam paper comments upon "the discouragement endured by the industrious of humble origin in India in general and Malabar in particular; and compares their condition here with that of their brethren in Europe, where industry is deservedly honoured, and the industrious, however low in descent, will, if otherwise qualified, meet with no hindrance, such as they do here, in raising themselves to higher steps in the social ladder; and gives instances of such cases." Early marriages are strongly condemned, and social legislation of an advanced type seems in favour with the conductors of these papers, though it is questionable whether they would be of much assistance to Government if any attempt at improvement were made which violently interfered with caste prejudices. The tone of the writings is highly satisfactory, when serious topics are considered. All that we need wish for the future of the Press in the South is, that present characteristics should be greatly intensified. "Masterly inactivity" will then best describe the most suitable Government policy towards them.

The State of Travancore has long been described as the "Model State" of India. Successive Governors-General have borne testimony to this fact; the present family of reigning Princes have worthily striven to maintain the tradition. One of the scions of the royal house delights to meet the people, he on the platform they as audience, and to lecture them upon those qualities of the British people which have contributed to the formation of a natural character which is marvellously forceful. Strange to say, newspapers have not yet taken anything like a proper place in this State, though its authorities and leading men show themselves most sensitive to the criticism of the Madras and Bombay English papers. Missionaries, too, in great numbers, labour in this region, and they, as a rule, have not shown themselves unmindful of the power exerted by the Press. But, whatever the cause, the fact is undeniable, that this Model State has, perforce, to take a lower place through lack of vigorous newspaper enterprise, which is a pity, for even in a well-governed oriental country, the consequent monotony and poverty

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of ideas must be absolutely appalling : the more excellently ruled the State, the greater the mental barrenness.*

The native newspapers† of the Madras Presidency are as follows:—

Travancore Herald, Cottyam.
Vethantha Nirnaya Pathrica, Madras.
Sugunda Vasani, Madras.
The Brahma Depekai, Madras.
The Padchenra Tharaka, Cochin.
Suttia Burthamani, Madras.
Shaba Oomdetool Akbar, Madras.
Muzharool Akbar, Madras.
Diva Samajum, Masulipatam.
Abgoolob Akbar, Bangalore.
Manshore Mohamedien, Bangalore.
Pooroosharka Perathani, Masulipatam.
Sudhee Banjeni, Cocanada.
Vetty Codeyen, Madras.
The Shumsool Akhbar, Madras.
Varthamana Brinasani, Coimbatonum.
The Subhodini, Mangalore.
The Osuanabanoo, Madras.
Dinavurthamani (Telugu and Tamil Editions,) Madras.
S. Travancore Morning Star, Nagercoil.

Andrubaria Sinjuvani, Madras.
The Deshabhimani, Madras.
Ashrapel Akbar, Madras.
Sharwada Munjari, Madras.
Sathiapomery, Ootacamund.
Brithantha Bodhinee, Bangalore.
Nyaga Bodhinee, Cocanada.
Native Public Opinion, Madras.
Viyavarathanugaur (Tamil Edition and Telugu do) Madras.
The Neyagabodhini, Madras.
Thamoabodhini, Madras.
Tallismay Hynith, Madras.
Sadgori Zamani, Madras.
Khasunool Akbar, Bangalore.
Tallismay Kantam, Bangalore.
Kamla Patakam, Cochin.
Sogardava Hamani, Madras.
Hitavadi, Masulipatam.
Karnatam Pracasika, Bangalore.
Janavinodini, Madras.

THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES AND THE PUNJAB.

Among other things which cannot but compel the attention, even though but a casual glance at the titles of the newspapers in the latest-acquired territories of the British in India be given, is the desire manifested by the people to do honour to a "Burra Sahib" of high repute, by calling a newspaper after him. Hence we have the *Lawrence Gazette*, and *Muir Gazette* published at Meerut, a place infamous in Mutiny days; the *Strachey Gazette* and *Inglis Gazette*, in Urdu and Hindia respectively, both printed at Mooradabad; and the *Mayo Gazette* at Delhi. It will not escape notice that in each of these cases the distinctive appellation of the Government Record is appended to the names of these distinguished after an

*) Several papers appear to be published in and near Travancore: The *Herald*, Cottyam (head-quarters of the Church Missionary Society), Two English and two native journals at Cochin, a port on the Malabar Coast, and one at Nagercoil; but, after all, assuming these published outside, circulate in the State, the result is very poor for Travancore.

† A proportion of these are not, presumably, newspapers strictly so called, but magazines issued monthly, though registered as newspapers. In the list furnished to the writer by the Postmaster General of Madras, unlike all other returns, there is no column to indicate the frequency of publication.

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Indian fashion, a certainly commendable one. Possibly it was thought that it would be derogatory to associate such mighty names with the titles of journals which had, perhaps, criticized their acts, and consequently they have been apotheosized in connection with the name of a publication which never contained anything disrespectful of them, being under their own direct control. Although the vernacular press of the North-West Provinces can date its birth so far back as 1820, when the *Agra Akbhar*, to which reference has been made, was started, this institution has failed to strike deep root, to exert much influence, or to attract much attention. The fact is that this section of the Indian press has been smothered in a blanket of too much coddling. These Provinces are much governed, as Government goes in India; though in Europe or America the Executive would be held to be feeble in the extreme. Nevertheless the authorities are altogether the *Deus ex machina* * of social and political life, and the consequence is a decided lack of tone or spirit in the papers. And yet the inhabitants of these regions are among the most warlike, energetic, and independent of the many races of India which are under British rule.

Perhaps, it was felt that to give these people a taste of liberty, the chance of saying just what they pleased, would be to find for them an outlet by the pen for the energy which had hitherto given exceeding great strength to the sword-arm: hence the reason, doubtless, why Government adopted the policy of largely subsidising certain of the papers by taking a goodly number of copies, and thus ensuring, to the proprietor a remunerative circulation by a modified system of bribery. A paper thus supported is always at the mercy of the official who has the power to withdraw the assistance on which it depends; and the effect as regards independent criticism or opinion is the same as that caused by the endowment of a place of worship, which has often been found to exercise a deterrent, rather than a stimulating, action on religious zeal. Consequently the native press in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab count for little or nothing in the formation or direction of public opinion; and while the Bombay and Calcutta English journals find much to extract, and not a little pabulum for editorial manipulation from their vernacular contemporaries, the *Pioneer* and other papers of influence in this portion of the empire, scarcely ever notice, either for praise or blame, what appears in the native newspapers. The conductors of these prints are not even industrious in the collec-

* It was in these Provinces that an English official was horrified to discover that he had been deified, and that worship of himself was included in the devotion paid to the great deities to whom court was paid by many of the people whom he ruled.

tion of local items, and give but a colourless representation of current history which, skilfully arranged, might present a moving panorama of bright incidents and curious facts. It was, if the writer's memory serves him correctly, in the columns of a North-West journal, that an inconspicuous paragraph of five or six lines, announced the loss of several hundred lives in one of the large rivers in that region. Not a word of detail or comment beyond the mere recital of the bare fact, describing the circumstances under which a number of heavily-laden passenger boats were capsized or sunk. When it is remembered how fully, and even sensationally, a railway accident, involving the loss of a few lives, is treated in Europe, the lack of appreciation evinced by these journals will be realised.* More interest is taken by these papers in the political condition of Afghanistan; and the movements of Russia attract as much attention and are, perhaps, more commented upon, than the doings of the Government of India. Shut up from criticism on this side, their mouth filled by a large sugar plum being placed in it, attention by Vernacular editors in the North-West is, naturally enough, directed to doings abroad, and in the affairs of Afghanistan and the gradual hugging by the strong arms of the Russian bear of all the Central Asian towns and tribes, there is certainly matter of interest. It may not be out of place to state here, that so well is the severe practice of Russian rule as compared with English known in India, that this Euro-Asiatic Power would not be welcomed as a conqueror in place of Britain. Much as Bengalee Baboos and ultra-patriotic Parsees may object to English supremacy, the residuum of experience in their mind is strongly permeated with a sense of the fairness and justice of that supremacy. The bugbear of Russian emissaries fomenting rebellion in the bazars of Indian cities and over the evening meal of the ryot in his hut, which alarms so many Anglo-Indian journalists, is not likely to be a reality whilst the continent is ruled on the principles which now animate its supreme authorities.

So far as the statistics of the North-West papers show, newspaper enterprise is at a stand-still, even shows signs of going back; while the circulation is miserably small, thanks to Government subsidies. Of the press in these Provinces, indeed, the most noteworthy facts to be given are contained in the mere recital of the journals, which is herewith appended:—

* In Madras, however, a few months after, almost as little concern was manifested respecting the sudden destruction of a large body of pilgrims who had encamped in the dry bed of a river, it being the hot and (usually) rainless season. During the night, however, heavy rain fell in the hills, and a body of water several feet high, without any warning whatever, dashed torrent-like down the hitherto empty water-way, and a large proportion of the pilgrims were drowned.

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THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

Urdu Delhi Gazette, Agra.	Urdu Law Reports, Mooradabad.
Ainal Tibabut, Ditto.	Khurshed Jehantab, Agra.
Lawrence Gazette, Meerut.	Alligurrh Institute Gazette Allygurh.
Nagree Parkash, Ditto.	Ingles Gazette, Mooradabad.
Dubduball Secundree, Rampore.	Nujmool Akhbar, Meerut.
Ufitt Dahra, Dhat.	Benares Akhbar, Benares.
Noorool Afag, Cawnpore.	Mohib Hind, Meerut.
Rohilcund Somachar, Mooradabad.	Mahomedan Social Reformer (fortnightly), Benares.
Muir Gazette, Meerut.	Lohi Mafouz, Mooradabad.
Budhi Prakash, Allahabad.	Noorool Umver, Cawnpore.
Strachey Gazette, Mooradabad.	Rohilcund Akhbar, Mooradabad
Kairbachan Soodha, Benares.	(bi-weekly).
Harris Chunder's Magazine (fortnightly), ditto.	Julwai Toor, Meerut.
Akhbar Mohataham, Jawrah.	Nunil Ahsar, Allahabad.
Mutlae Noor, Cawnpore.	Gwalior Akhbar, Gwalior.
Boohund Akhbar, Mooradabad.	Sumaya Vinode, Nynsee Tal.
Nasim Jounpore, Jounpore.	

THE PUNJAB.

The Kohi-noor, Lahore.	Urdu Akhbar, Delhi.
Khan Khal, Goojranwalla.	Mugsoodul Akhbar, Ditto.
Magmahul Behreen, Loodiana.	Vidia Billas, Sealkote.
Anwar-ool-Shums, Lahore.	Nasir-ul-Islam, Delhi.
Akhbar-i-Am, Ditto.	Punjabee Akhbar, Lahore.
Nafa-ool Azim, Ditto.	Ohuahma Fiaz, Goojranwalla.
Noorof Sheen, Loodiana.	Sadigool Akhbar, Bhawalpore.
Mayo Gazette, Delhi.	Akhbar Rufaz Ain-Sealkote, Sealkote.
Loodiana Akhbar, Loodiana	Ressalla Niti Prakash, Loodiana.
(bi-weekly)	Puttialla Akhbar, Puttialla.
Guris-i-Shaigan, Lahore.	Hadi-e-Hagigat, Lahore.
Ressalla Star of India, Goojranwalla.	Hindu Prakash, Umritsur.
Khan Khah Alum, Delhi.	
Akmahul Akhbar, ditto.	

The journals of the Central Provinces, Oudh, Rajpootana, Sind, and British Burma, tabulated on a previous page, do not exhibit characteristics sufficiently noteworthy to call for particular notice, save that it ought to be stated that those published in Oudh, of which the writer has but an imperfect record, deserve to be mentioned as good average journals, not much better and certainly not worse than their contemporaries elsewhere.

CEYLON.

Any notice of the vernacular papers of India, would be incomplete without a particularisation of what is being done in Ceylon in this respect. The smaller communities of different races in this Island render experiments of this nature more practicable than in larger and more mixed populations in India. Though still very

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few in numbers, the native papers of Ceylon are faithful exponents of public opinion, and have an appreciable influence on the mind of the people. Here there is not the faintest expression of dissatisfaction with British rule; and, compared with India, there is a soicial mixture (not necessarily miscegenation) of races which would make an old Indian stand aghast. The fact that Englishmen find occupation in a not altogether uncongenial climate, in mercantile transactions, and on coffee and tea plantations, so that several thousands are thus scattered throughout the Island, has had a marked effect upon the people; and the principal native newspaper, the *Lakrivi kirana*, has shared in the influence generally abroad. In the range of topics treated, in the comments which are made and in its selection of news, this newspaper will favourably compare with any native journal in India; and, indeed, with some English papers of little more than half-a-century since. Before a newspaper, strictly so-called, was established, for years efforts were made to combine the newspaper with the magazine; and the missionaries (notably of the Wesleyan persuasion) were foremost in the work, the Rev. Robert Spence Hardy being the pioneer. The outcome was the *Lanka Nidhana* ("Treasury of Ceylon"); but while useful it did not take root. Native literature, of a kind, abounded; and, to a certain extent, satisfied the intellectual wants of the people. Female authors, too, are not unknown in Ceylon, a Miss Seraphina de Alwis (pure Native: the *de* is a relic of Portuguese names given to natives at christening two or three centuries since and still retained in the families) having recently published a work printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press. The first vernacular paper printed in Ceylon,—at least, in the South,—was the *Lakmini Pahana* (lit. "the Jewelled Knowledge Lamp of Ceylon,") established by some wealthy Buddhists, and conducted by a well-known Island poet, Koggala by name. It was fairly well conducted, but being pro-Buddhistical in the views it enunciated, it was not supported by the native Christians, as was anticipated; and intelligent Buddhists were too few in number to make a journal, expressing only their sentiments, a success. For some time, however, a good position was maintained, which led to a meeting of native Christians being held with the view of starting a rival. It was agreed that as the Buddhists form so large a majority of the inhabitants, while the Protestants are but few, if the proposed paper was to cater for general support, while conducted on Christian principles, it should not advocate exclusively the cause of any sect, nor should controversies respecting various beliefs have a place in the paper. On these grounds it was started, and though the programme has not been strictly adhered to, considering the ferment of religious thought in the land it has been fairly kept. A company was formed, but like almost every news-

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paper in India, which is company-owned, whether European or native, the brotherhood soon dissolved, and the paper became the property of a Singhalese man, who had been trained as a printer in one of the European offices. After the first issue of the *Kirana*, Mr. W. P. Raneasinghe was called to act as Editor, and under his guidance, taking European journals as a model, it has been made a successful newspaper, one that has enlarged the horizon of the Singhalese mind to a great extent. The journal of the Buddhists soon died, and this gave the *Kirana* an impetus which was not long in placing 1,600 subscribers on its books,—a large constituency as newspaper subscription lists go in India. It is still the “day of small things” with oriental publications. One service rendered by the *Kirana* is thus described:—“There can be little question that the people have learnt, from the newspapers, especially from the *Kirana*, their rights as British subjects. Hitherto, the Headmen exercised undue influence over the ignorant people for their own aggrandisement, but now the people know the powers of the Headmen, and these latter dare not exercise any undue influence over them except in remote parts of the Island, where the power of the Press is not felt.” The fact of native oppression of native, has been neatly epigrammatized in the remark, “The people of the East need protection, but it is from their own people,” a fact supported by wide experience.

The *Satyalkuraya* (“Beauty of Truth”) well-printed in beautifully clear type,—one of the prettiest newspapers in the world to look at, the curved characters of the Singhalese alphabet being well imprinted on good paper,—was started in 1875 by the native Wesleyan missionaries in South Ceylon, who guaranteed the publishers against loss. Of course, it is decidedly religious in tone: it gives a fair abstract of news, which is intelligently translated, so as to make all allusions clear to the reader. Several other papers in the Singhalese tongue have been started, and have had an ephemeral life: one however, still exists, the *Pradse-paya*, a Roman Catholic organ.

The Tamil section of the Ceylonese population is second to none in energy and enterprise, yet it has no newspaper to represent its interests. This is mainly due to the fact that all the men of this race who come to the front are good English scholars, and find in the English journals a medium for expressing their wants. But, for the mass, there is nothing that emanates directly from their own people. Consequently, to express their grievances and for other purposes, often with a poverty-stricken knowledge of the English language, they are driven to the English papers, and are objects of terror to the “sub” who has to turn their sentences into grammatical form. Meetings have been called at various times to establish a Tamil journal in Colombo, but nothing

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has yet come of the resolutions agreed to. In the North of the Island, the American Missionaries have done good-service to this race, their weekly *Morning Star* having been long established. Quite recently these Missionaries started a small illustrated monthly Magazine, the *Palier Nasen*, if not the first of the kind published in the East, certainly the only one now existing. It is satisfactory to know that it has, so far, proved successful.

The Muhammadans have made several attempts to establish journals, and lithographed* papers of four to six pages have from time to time appeared, but none have maintained existence for any length of time.

List of Native Papers in Ceylon.

The Lukrivi Kirana, Colombo.
Nyahartha Pradeepaya, Colombo.
Palier Nasen, Jaffna.
Kawata Kathikaya (Ceylon Punch†)
Colombo.

Morning Star, Jaffna.
Satyalankaraya, Colombo.
Satyasamuchchaya, Colombo,
(Buddhist.)

III.

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN VERNACULAR PAPERS.

Is it possible to forecast the future of the Vernacular press of India? Surely something of the kind may be attempted, and some broad lines laid down, which shall serve to indicate the nature of the newspaper influence of India that Englishmen of two or three generations hence will have to deal with. At the same time it is not forgotten, that there are many social circumstances which escape the eye of the most careful observer, even of one who is most acquainted with details; and the bearing these have on events which cannot be allowed for. Such a complete knowledge of details the writer does not profess to have, yet from the information already given, and much more which is held in reserve it may not be altogether unprofitable to "peer into the future, far as human eye can see," and observe whither things which can be estimated, are tending. Not only is there the career of the English newspaper press to serve as

* The *Printers' Register*, a London trade journal, speaks of an illustrated satirical weekly, published at Liverpool, called the *Wresp*. It says:—"Its style is unique, the paper being lithographed throughout." That certainly would not be unique in journalistic annals in the East, where not a few native papers begin with the "litho-stone" and pass on to the case-rack and composing stick.

† In* a paper on the Veddahs of Ceylon, read by Mr. Hartshorne, of the Ceylon Civil Service, before the British Association at Bristol, much was made of this aboriginal tribe never even smiling. Mention was made, too, of the general gravity of orientals. But the Singhalese and Tamils can laugh heartily enough, and a newspaper to provoke mirth signifies a good deal of mirth to be provoked.

a guide,—a press which, one hundred and twenty years ago, occupied a much lower position, than does the Indian native press of to-day, but the policy likely to be adopted in the future, by the rulers of India is well-known, while the main currents of purely native opinion are sufficiently well-defined to be of service to the observer. First, it may fairly be taken for granted that no official censorship of the press, corresponding to what is the rule in France, will be necessary, or will be established, in India. It is well-known that the present Viceroy, though recognising the peculiar position in which freedom of expression is placed by India being ruled despotically and not constitutionally, is strongly averse to a Censorship. So much power as is given to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to suppress, for a time, a paper which has published what is regarded as sedition, might be given to the Governors of Presidencies, and to Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces. Even thus much would, in the writer's opinion, be unnecessary. It would be unnecessary, for there is always a strong body of native opinion honestly in favour of the continuance, for a time at least, of British rule, and who would stand by the order and justice which it secures; this opinion seems likely, even at present, to be strong enough to counteract evil counsels which might endanger the authorities, while there is a powerful armed force always at the command of the Supreme Government. When in 1874 certain native papers were using very strong expressions against the English people and in opposition to Government, perhaps the most sensible things that were said on the side of the British were by natives, of which the following utterance from *Native Public Opinion* may be taken as a fair sample :—

That some native newspapers write occasionally what looks very like seditious preaching, cannot indeed be denied; but the motive which prompts such wild and insane maunderings is not a wish to see the British Government endangered or overthrown, but simply a false idea that such rabid and extravagant writing will be more effective than temperate and mildly-worded censures. The heart is not nearly so much at fault as the head, and though the writers of such suspicious and trashy things will be the first to pray for the continuance of the British rule in India, they fancy they serve their native country best by adopting pessimist views, and heaping indiscriminate censure on men and things in general. Such a state of things is no doubt to be deplored, but to put down senseless criticism of this sort with a high hand would be to attach to it an importance which does not belong to it. To fancy that these insane utterances of one section of the native press are so many proofs of latent disaffection among the masses, is to argue against all probability and common sense.

Besides, it must not be forgotten, that natives are not now, for the first time, saying hard things of their alien rulers. More than a generation and a half ago, when Ram Mohun Roy and his party had great influence with young Bengal, the *Reformer*

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was established. That publication has been thus described (*Calcutta Review*, January 1845. Art. "Literary Effort in Bengal") :—"In politics the *Reformer* at first assumed a tone of rancorous and indiscriminating violence towards the British Government, out-doing the wildest flights to which ultra-Radicalism has ever soared in these lands. A nondescript species of native oligarchy and republicanism combined was the panacea proposed for remedying all the ills of India." Nothing worse, if anything so bad, as is described here, has been written of the Baroda deposition or any other of the topics which have recently stirred native opinion to its depths. The completeness, cruel completeness, with which the Mutiny of 1857 was put down, has placed a bar upon future military uprisings, and though it is hard to fairly judge of the tendencies of the times in which a writer lives, seeing how much men are, insensibly may be, influenced by those very tendencies in a thousand ways, while the feeling is apt to dominate which magnifies a slight movement into one of first importance, still there can be little question that if firmness and righteousness continue to be as wisely combined by the authorities in the days to come as they have been during the past few years, none but pacific revolutions need be feared. A native press, with good examples in its English contemporaries, and being severely let alone by Government will do much to hasten this consummation of settled rule and to place it on a sure foundation. There is a great faculty for self-administration in the smaller details of State and Municipal affairs amongst Hindus, especially those in the East and South, which must eventually be satisfied, and if only a proper ideal be set before the people, there is no reason why a strong nation should not be formed out of what have hitherto been antagonistic elements. Lord Northbrook placed a veto on Sir George Campbell's bill (adopted by the Bengal Legislative Council) to establish Municipalities in Bengal by reviving the Panchayets or Village Republics, and therein made one of the great mistakes of his rule. His argument was that the country was not yet ripe for the revival of an institution which they very well understood. This was in 1873. In 1875 even the English newspapers were expressing the belief that the time was ripe for the adoption of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal's policy. Sir George Campbell, addressing the Social Science Association in Calcutta, in January, 1874, said :—"In fact it is my belief that if the Association, after taking up the subjects in the order in which I have mentioned, comes to a successful development of the question of self-Government, this Association, from a Social Parliament, which I have already said I consider it ought to be, may in time become a real Parliament. It is quite possible that our grandchildren may see a Bengali House

of Commons sitting in this place." He concluded his address by expressing a hope that every person would put his "shoulders to the wheel to make the Association a Social Parliament, and through that Social Parliament to obtain progress in this country, and to hasten the day when a Bengali House of Commons may take our place." The seed then dropped, has not been allowed to fall into stony ground nor have weeds choked it. It crops up in speeches at social meetings: reformers in Madras frequently remind their countrymen of the prospect, and it soon will be, if it is not already, a prominent article in the creed of the more progressive Indians. The power thus shadowed forth may be safely given, a few years hence, to those races who show themselves most anxious for it, and are most fitted to intelligently exercise it. The conclusion is not necessarily involved that English control shall be taken from India. Rather, as a directing power, would British influence become greater. To the end predicted by Sir G. Campbell, the Bengal Native papers at least will, and do, devote all their energies, and in so far as they do this temperately, may be held to be doing good service to the State.

Mr. Lely, in his remarks in the *Indian Economist*, draws attention to one pregnant fact in connection with the native papers which is important in the view now being taken of the future. It is this: that the Indian vernacular journal has a greater effect upon the mind of the reader than an English paper can have upon an Englishman, because, practically, it is all the reading the ryot, and even a member of some higher classes has access to. While the English artisan or labourer has recourse to a vast literature enriched from many sources, this is not the case with the Hindu; and though cheap literature will undoubtedly march side by side with the newspaper—the latter, occupying the ground first, and having more diversified contents, will always be most influential. The students of one branch of art or science, the men of one book, are proverbial for the tenacity with which they cling to their (perhaps) narrow acquisition. So is it, and so will it be, in increasing force with the Indian newspaper reader. The native journal will become to him what the Chartist paper never was even to the followers of Thomas Cooper, Ernest Jones, and others, and that influence was marvellous; or what *Lloyd's Newspaper* and the *News of the World* were to the artisan of England in the Reform agitation which resulted in the Tory Household Suffrage (Boroughs) Bill. Streams confined in narrow channels always have strongest force, and though it may be said that all India is a wide enough field for newspaper enterprise, there is a fact to be noted here, which will not be without its effect, no small effect, on the vernacular paper of the future. Wanting the enterprise and energy of the English and American

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newspaper proprietor, the Indian journalist will have no need to go far afield and gather intelligence from the ~~the~~ ends of the earth for the delectation of his readers. That will be done in coming days, as it now is, by his English contemporaries, from whom he can quote all he desires. The consequence will be a greater concentration of native opinion and discussion upon home subjects, and a race of patriots of the most fervent order is likely to be a result. Every one can see what a similar state of things has created in the United States of America, which are cut off from close and pressing European influence, and with Canada too much like themselves to have anything but a stimulating effect.* Not that there is any fear of the Bengali, Madrassee, or Bombayite becoming Anglicized, except each assimilating after his own order, and consonant with his own traditions. It seems to the writer more than probable, that brought abreast with the age by the three forces of Representation, Equal Rights, and the Supremacy of Law† the Indian will develop a patriotism more of the United States than of the English pattern. This is one of the lines on which the Indian vernacular newspaper of the future will, most likely, be built.

At a meeting of the British Social Science Congress at Glasgow two years ago, a distinguished Tamil gentleman, Sir Coomara Swamy, M.L.C., (Ceylon) read a paper on Science Education in India; and, in conclusion, pictured a time when an Indian-built and manned steamer should sail from the Hughli and enter the port of London, or of New York. Though, as Sir John Hawkshaw, in his address as President of the British Association at Bristol, stated, "India, from thirty or forty centuries ago, was skilled in the manufacture of iron and cotton goods," and though cotton factories are rapidly extending in the Bombay presidency while jute mills are rising in great number in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, machinery primarily destined for manufactories in Dundee being shipped to Eastern India; coal is too sparsely distributed over the continent to permit of India ever becoming a great manufacturer of goods for export. Rather than that, an active artisan population, in

* Oliver Wendell Holmes, in his "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," gravely argues that the Christian religion has yet to be Americanized before it is fully fitted to suit the wants of the people of the great Western Republic. Similarly, European civilization and Christianity must be Indianized (not idolatized by any means) to make worship acceptable, before being generally accepted.

† Professor Thorold Rogers, in a

review of "Order and Progress" by Frederick Harrison. *Academy*, September, 1875. It is interesting to notice that of these three supports of Modern Civilization two are decidedly Oriental. Equal Rights came from the Jew; Representation (in a nascent form) has long been practiced by Hindus, though it owes its full development to the Anglo-Saxon race; while Legal Supremacy came from a quasi-oriental people, the Romans.

most parts not urban,—and that means nearly all India,—may be looked for, a people strongly conservative because of their direct interest in land. A reform, in which the zemindars will have less social influence and a diminished possession of the soil, while the cultivators shall have a greater share, is what the vernacular papers to some extent, are already committed to; but the object sought is not so nakedly expressed. Though the British Government has found a most difficult problem in dealing with the ownership of the soil of India, and though a “permanent settlement” is held to have been arranged in some cases; it does not require much insight into the movements of social life in India to hazard the prediction that the real “permanent settlement” has yet to come, and that it will be more in favour of small holdings than of large properties. Great reputations for statesmanship have been made in India, but there are greater yet to be won. The object of fighting, amongst even the most warlike of peoples, is for the possession of soil, so fascinating is the effect of this kind of wealth on mankind; and it is quite within the range of possibility that a course of legislation of the kind hinted at, supported by the vernacular journals with all the power they will have, when this subject is ripe for legislation, might be found as suitable for the fiercer tribes in the Central, North-West and Northern Provinces of India, as for the milder peoples of the East and South.

However all this may be, it is safe to allege (“errors and omissions excepted”) that in the not distant future, the vernacular Press of this country will have assumed a distinctive character. That character may be broadly sketched. From the “abode of snow” in the far North to the cotton port of Tuticorn, the railway terminus in the extreme South, the vernacular newspaper will most likely be—

(a) Of conservative tendencies, only so far, however, as “India for the Indians” is concerned: to that point intensely, even ultra, Radical;

(b) Absorbingly national: “There is no land but one land, and that land is India;”

(c) Will not advocate the ousting of the foreigner by main force—great reliance being placed on moral ideas and their efficacy; time for their operation being given;

(d) Will become the strong foe of idolatry, and the defective scientific knowledge of heathen systems, without necessarily becoming Christian, though the actively Christian press should be a strong wing of the Native press;

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(e) Will accept the civilization of the age with its material triumphs, wedding it to the philosophic lore of Oriental spiritual self-consciousness, which latter will thereby become purified and strengthened ; and

(f) Possibly, may find a solution to the problem of English occupation, by first advocating, then agreeing to, a Federation with those who long have been alien rulers, but who have taught the ruled great things whereby they also have become mighty.

By the time that this last named feature in an imaginary programme is worked out, India would probably be the largest link, as regards population at least, in the chain of a Federated British Empire which will nearly encircle the globe. India would be greater in such a company than ever she would standing alone ; and, as a subsidiary matter, showing how the poet's dream of one century becomes the prosaic duty of the statesman in the next, would then be realised what the present poet laureate of England long ago foreshadowed, when he wrote of a

"Federation of the world,

"When the war drum throbs no longer and the battle-flags are
furled."

• All this is not rodomontade, or unsubstantial dream ; but, as it seems to the writer, the necessary outcome of a properly ruled Indian Empire and a materially-developed Native Press. The expression of such a consummation, however, frequently serves to rouse the contempt and scorn of a portion of the Anglo-Indian press ; which press, with a few honorable exceptions, is never so scathingly satirical as when some such view as the foregoing of the future of India is put forward, and the possibility of increased power being granted to the " sons of the soil " is hinted at. About nothing are such pithy phrases of serene contempt uttered as against reformers with such an end in view, as has been referred to. It is not forgotten by the writer that there are social forces which may change the tone of the press from the line indicated to a worse one, but such forces are not now apparent, while the results indicated are already foreshadowed. In any case, there can be no harm in showing to Native Editors, the direction of the ideal already grasped, the ultimate object to be attained by a steady high-minded progress after the ideal ; not only that they may see the development of their present work, but also that they may fittingly prepare themselves to properly carry it out on a larger scale.

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All the progress alluded to may go on side by side with that " rectification of the frontiers " which seems inevitable, involving

the (probable) peaceable occupation of Afghanistan as a safeguard to that nation and a barrier against Russian aggression in India, and on the South East the annexation of Upper Burma, and an overland trade route to China, via Yunnan, thereby secured. Further than this it does not seem possible for British power to extend in the East. Great Britain owes it as a paramount duty to India not to look upon the land as an everlasting possession, nor to acknowledge the contingency of departing from its shores while its peoples are still unfit to rule themselves, but instead, lacking the cohesion supplied by a strong supreme authority, to fall asunder into a dozen conflicting nations, over whom the Muhammadan or some equally fierce religionist in frantic frenzy would march as conqueror, the land meanwhile sinking to its former deadness and despair. Or, it might be, that an ambitious European or Asiatic conqueror would dominate the land, and keep it under by a fierce despotic rule, so that English occupation would be as the "little finger" compared with the "father's loins", threatened by King Rehoboam to the discontented Israelitish people who prayed that their burdens might be lightened. There is no strength like that which is developed from within. The British have the power to make India strong from the centre outwards, and one of the main features to this end will be the granting of power of self-government to those of the people most fitted for its exercise, and the maintenance of a free vernacular press. How long the ruling power may be engaged in evolving strong governments from among the people depends much upon the people themselves; the period is not to be accurately estimated. Certainly it is from institutions which grow from within, and not those introduced from the outside, however theoretically perfect they may be, that the greatest promise of stability arises. In any case, the vernacular press of India is destined to do a great deal in shaping the future of India, whatever that future may be. Let the authorities beware how they interfere too much with it on the one hand and thus stifle its free expansion, while, on the other, let them mend their policy in the North-West and cease to subsidise the papers in that region, thus preventing the expression of opinion calculated to be of much service to themselves. Upon the seed sown now and during the coming generation will depend the ripening of large fruit which shall be for good or for evil. It used to be said of Englishmen coming to India in the olden days, that they left their religion at the Cape. It would seem as if, now-a-days, one of the prominent articles in the creed of most Englishmen, viz., that moral ideas rule the world, were deposited in the tanks at Aden on their way out; for though the Indian, of all men in the world, is most susceptible to the teaching of which the expression quoted is the germ, it is

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not tried with him. Let the present generation of Anglo-Indians re-learn this lesson, instil it in every possible manner into the minds of those Indians with whom they come into contact ; and they will find that they are paving the way for a moral triumph, the victory of the Indian over himself, which shall bring greater glory, of a higher order, to the English name than that glory of material conquest which the British have so long enjoyed, and nowhere so splendidly won as in the East. But another day is breaking now ; has, indeed, already broken !

WM. DIGBY.

ART. VIII.—BENGALI, SPOKEN AND WRITTEN.

THE language of a people is a reflex of that people's mind. In language is faithfully mirrored every stage of social progress. Human development can never rest fixed at a point; language, like other human appurtenances must, therefore, change. In the past, languages have changed, and in the future too, they must change, unless by some inconceivable process all human affairs were to come to a stand-still. But people who speak any particular language at a particular time, scarcely ever imagine that that language should ever change; and the great majority of Englishmen and Frenchmen, at the present day, little think that the languages they speak, now so full of vigorous life, could ever undergo any very extensive modification. Without a knowledge of the past history of languages, the possibility of a change would indeed be inconceivable. To the ignorant, therefore, lingual change must be an absolute inconceivability. But that people fully cognizant of the unstable, changeable, character of languages should nevertheless try, though in vain, to give it fixity, after it had arrived at a certain stage of growth, by persistently ignoring changes that have actually taken place in the current speech, would be quite unintelligible, but that we actually find this to be the case. In this, as in a host of other cases, we find that things, after they have acquired a definite existence, do obstinately resist the action of all antagonistic forces. This principle of conservation must be particularly strong in literary languages, for these are sure to be supported by the whole weight of learning; and learning in all ages has made itself the champion, in numerous instances, of the outgrown, the obsolete, and the useless. The bias of learning has thus helped to keep the written language of every country, at any given time, a little behind the spoken, a little archaic in comparison with the latter.*

Another difference between written and spoken language must arise from the fact of the former being altogether a higher

* In some respects, however, the written language of a country must be in advance of the spoken. Increasing knowledge makes it necessary to borrow or invent new words, and such words must make their way into colloquial speech through the written. The invention of words like *oxygen* and *international*, and the adoption (in English) of words like *geist* are cases in point. New words relating

to the ordinary affairs of life, must first make their appearance, however, in colloquial speech, and gradually force their way up to books. But for all this, the most advanced phase of a language at any given time must, generally speaking, be the form of it currently spoken at the time. The best model for writers to follow would, therefore, be the *spoken* tongue.

instrument than the latter. In oral conversation, there cannot be anything like that systematic grouping, that co-ordination and subordination of thought, that there can be in writing. Grouping of thought does not necessitate, however, any departure from the current grammar or the current vocabulary. It is only in poetry, and other artistic productions, that archaisms are allowable for the sake of æsthetic effect.

Some difference then between written and spoken language may be unavoidable from the very nature of things—nay desirable,—but it is certainly as desirable that this difference should be at its minimum. In our Bengali language, however, the divergence between its spoken and written forms, is about as wide as it well can be; and a discussion of this question, with suggestions for remedying the evil, is to form the subject of the present paper.

Grammar and vocables exhaust the whole field of spoken language. In respect of written language, however, the graphic system has further to be considered.

First, in respect of grammar, written Bengali differs from* spoken Bengali far more than is perhaps the case with any other living human language. Indeed obsolete grammatical forms which, if employed in speaking, would call forth laughter, are the accre-

*European scholars are often misled by our book Bengali and so called Bengali grammars. Prof Max. Muller in his *Stratification of Language* says, "We have learnt that in some of the dialects of modern Sanskrit, in Bengali for instance, the plural is formed, as it is in Chinese, by adding a word expressive of plurality" pp. 11 and 12. Another eminent orientalist, the extent and depth of whose knowledge of the Indian Aryan vernaculars surpasses that of any other living scholar, has fallen into the same error, and doubtless from the same cause. Mr. Beames in his article on the early Vaishnava poets of Bengal in the *Indian Antiquary* for February 1873, has the following: "There is [in the Bengali of Bidyapati's time] no distinctive form for the plural. When it is necessary to express the idea of plurality very distinctly, words like *sab*, 'all'; *anek*, 'many,' and the like are used. Occasionally also we find *gana*, 'crowd' as a first faint indication of what was subsequently to become the regular sign of the plural in Bengali." *Gana* is no doubt the regular plural sign in book-Bengali, but it

is never employed in current speech. The modern plural stands for the old dual and plural both. *Ra* is a plural termination in this sense; *Gana* however is a true collective. It will never, even in writing, be used for two individuals. The employment of the plural form in Bengali is far more rational than it is in English. When a numeral or any other adjective signifying more than one, qualifies a noun, the plural termination is *universally* (in English, this is the case only in a few instances) dropped. The same is partially the case with Hindustani, but partially only. Hindustani nouns ending in *ā* particularly refuse to drop the plural termination. Final *ā* has kept Hindustani backward also in other ways. Adjectives ending in *ā* (including participles and the genitive particle *kā*) are the only Hindustani adjectives that are declined. The full significance of the mischief that the distinction of gender in adjectives with a final *ā* has done, can be understood only when it is considered, that it is this that keeps alive the artificial distinction of gender in Hindustani at all. If Hindu-

dited book Bengali forms. Dramas, novels, and newspapers have indeed begun to partially adopt current grammatical forms, and this I look upon as the instrument which is destined eventually to effect a thorough revolution. Men are gradually being accustomed to see in print colloquial forms side by side with the usual obsolete forms used in writing. Old associations are being thus gradually loosened, and men's minds prepared for the utter exclusion in writing, eventually, of the grammatical forms that have become extinct in the spoken tongue.

Some of the inflexions of nouns and pronouns, the conjugations of verbs and the distinction of gender in nouns and adjectives, furnish very important points of difference between spoken and written Bengali. Several of these differences are to be traced to the influence of Sanskrit, and have been in part but recent innovations in a backward direction; while the others are archaic forms kept up in writing after they have dropped out of use in the spoken tongue. Illustrations will best shew the extent of the differences.

The proper Bengali plural termination of both nouns and pronouns is *râ* in the nominative case, and in this the book language is at one with the spoken. Along with this *râ*, however, Bengali forms* collectives by adding words signifying a group, and these words in current Bengali are *guno*, *guni*, *gulo*, *guli*, *gulin* (corruptions, probably, of the Sanskrit *gana*), and *sakol* (Sanskrit *sakala*). Written Bengali though employing *guli* and *gulin*, and also *gulâ* and *sakal* for *gulo* and *sakol* respectively, delights in the use of words of a genuine Sanskrit stamp—*gana* (pronounced *gan*) *saṁūha* (pronounced *somuha*) *vrinda* (pronounced *brinda*), *mandali* (pronounced *mondoli*) &c.,—words that are never employed in current speech.

In the oblique cases of nouns, too, there are differences. Current speech has *âmâder†* for the obsolete *âmâdiger* (ours) and *âmâdigake* (to us) of books.

stani participles, (both present and perfect) did not all end in *â*, and if there were not likewise a large number of ordinary adjectives ending in *â*, the artificial distinction of gender, which is the worst defect of the Hindustani language, would have long since disappeared. Spoken Bengali knows no distinction of gender in adjectives, and has the gender of nouns entirely coincident with sex, being in this latter respect superior even to English, which yet continues, in a few cases, to assign gender to inanimate objects. That this artificial assignment of gender is not an altogether defunct principle in the Eng-

lish language, is seen in the fact that railway trains have been feminised.

* *Âmâder*, for *to us*, seems to be abbreviated from *âmâderke*, the postposition *ke* being dropped.

† I am fully aware that there are dialectic differences in Bengali. This question is to be taken up further on. By spoken Bengali may here be understood the Bengali spoken in that part of the country which lies along the *Hugli*. The dialectic varieties of Bengali, in at least the Western half of the country, differ much less from one another than each does from the written form of the language.

Into written Bengali, a vocative case has further been introduced. Our learned Pandits have evidently thought it an imperfection in Bengali that it should not have the full complement of Sanskrit cases. In the Bengali Grammar books, read in our schools, the Bengali cases are given the same in number as in Sanskrit. The fact, however, is that the instrumental case is wholly wanting in Bengali, the idea of instrumentality or agency being expressed, like numerous other relations, by some post-position after the genitive. The vocative case also is altogether wanting, the nominative form being universally employed in address. In this latter case our Pandits have been in sore straits. They have not been able, as in the matter of the instrumental case, to erect the genitive with certain post-positions into a case. They have transferred therefore bodily the Sanskrit vocative form into Bengali; and so it is that words like *sakhe* (pronounced *sakhe*), *pitah*, &c., have taken a firm hold of written Bengali.

The Bengali instrumental too calls for remark. The current language is without any instrumental case, agency being expressed by putting *dvārā*, and instrumentality by putting *de*, after the genitive. In writing, an instrumental (expressive of agency as well as instrumentality proper) is manufactured, however, by the employment of *dvārā* (pronounced *ddārā*) and dropping the genitive sign of the preceding noun. There is besides another word, *kartrik*, very largely employed in writing to indicate agency, but which, when employed in oral speech, becomes a true post-position by coming after the genitive case.

The ablative case-ending of books is always *haite*, the corresponding colloquial form *hote* being at the same time occasionally employed in novels and dramas. For expressing the ablative relation, however, *theke* and *thāim* (after the genitive) are more largely employed in current speech than *hote*; and in this, as in other kindred matters, there can be no reason why the written should differ from the spoken language. The plural oblique case forms of book Bengali, differ also from those of spoken Bengali. *Digake* (accus. and dat.) and *diger* (gen.) of the former are represented by *der* in the latter.

The difference in the verb forms may now be pointed out :

In the spoken tongue, the infinitive and the perfect participle have the same form: *karā*, to do, doing, and *karā* also done. Bengali grammar books would scarcely recognise the form *karā* at all. The infinitive would be put down as *karana* (*karan*) and the perfect participle as *krita*. But unwilling though our grammar-makers are to admit the actual infinitive and perfect participle forms as correct forms, they are actually employed in writing. This, however, is not enough. The corresponding Sanskrit forms, except such as have been thoroughly naturalised in the spoken tongue,

should be eschewed entirely ; for where the resources of the language do of themselves suffice, no benefit can result from borrowing.

The following table will show the most important differences in the verb forms of written and spoken Bengali :—

1 *Book Bengali*; 2 *Calcutta Bengali*; 3 *Nadia*; 4 *Maldah Bengali*; 5 *Dacca Bengali*.

(I or We)	have done ...	† Karīśhhi.	Korichi		Korichhi	Korichhi.
(I) am or	(we) are					
doing	... Karitechhi ..	Kochchi	...	...	Kochchhi	Kortechhi.
(I or we) did	Karīām ..	Kollām	or			
		rarely Kollem	Kollām...	Kollēm*		Korlām.
(I) was or	(we) were					
doing	... Karitechhilām	Kochchhilum or				
		rarely Koch-				
		chohhilem...	...	Kochchhlēm.		
(I or we)	used to do	Karīām	Kottum	or		
			rarely	Kot-		
			tum	Kottām...	Kottēm	Kartām
(I or we)	will do...	Karibā	...	Korbo	...	Korbo.

It will be seen that the Bengali dialects spoken in the Western half of Bengal differ much less from one another in point of grammar than each does from the standard book-Bengali. The East Bengal dialects would seem to be nearer this standard, but in the long run they would tend more and more to divest themselves of their peculiarities and shape themselves more and more after the pattern of the metropolitan dialect. The very inability of East Bengal people to pronounce aspirate sounds marks out the dialects they speak as inferior, at least in one respect, to those spoken in the Western section of the country. East Bengal

† The Bengali alphabet very inadequately represents the vowel sounds of the language. The unrepresented sounds are the following :—

1. The vowel sound in dal (pulses) kal (to-morrow) &c., differing respectively from the vowel sound in dal (branch), kal (time) &c.

2. The vowel sound in meje (floor), mete (earthen) &c., differing respectively from the vowel sound in meje (on table), mete (be settled), &c.

3. The vowel sound in ek (one), e in ben (frog), &c. This sound corresponds with that of a in man.

4. The first vowel sound in ghoti (water-pot), bori (pill) &c. The difference between this sound and the ordinary sound of o can be clearly seen on comparing gole (in noise) with gole (having melted).

The above vowel sounds are represented in this paper by *d* (Italic), *e* (Italic), *ɛ* and *o* (Italic) respectively.

The representation of *ɛ* by *ch* is simply absurd. It would be better to represent *ɛ* by *e* only. The superfluous letter *c* of the Latin alphabet would thus be utilised. There is the further recommendation that *o* has already this sound in Italian. Prof. Monier Williams' transiteration of *ɛ* by *o* with a dot over the letter is greatly to be preferred to *oh*. *Sh* would be equally absurd with *ch*, if employed to represent *ɛ* but it is usually not so employed. It is made to represent *ɛ* however. But *s* + *h* can never produce the sound represented by *ɛ*. *ɛ* is represented in this paper by *e*. The Bengali *ɛ* has generally this sound too, and when a phonetic representation has appeared necessary, it has been represented by *e*.

The Bengali *u* has been represented in this paper by *u*, and *g* by *g*.

ɔ, *ʊ* *ɪ*, and the Ar. *ḥ* have been represented by *ɔ*, *r*, *ɪ*, and *g* respectively.

people themselves are anxious to assimilate their speech to that of West and Central Bengal. All peculiarities whatever of the East Bengal or any other Bengali dialect need not, however, disappear. But on this subject the writer's views will be stated more fully further on.

The subject of gender next calls for remark. In the living Bengali tongue there is no trace left of any artificial distinction of gender, but in writing, this worst of encumbrances is sedulously kept up. If prithibi (prithivi) is feminine in Sanskrit, it must be so perforce in Bengali, and this although the language has now utterly outgrown that stage of grammatical development in which there is an arbitrary assignment of gender to inanimate objects. Not only in assigning gender to the names of lifeless things do Bengali writers seek to carry the language back to a state it has outgrown, they Sanskritise the grammar farther by assigning gender to adjectives, a thing quite foreign to the spoken language. On this point it may be maintained that in cases where the noun of which it is an attribute, is of the female sex, the adjective in spoken Bengali does take a feminine form. This too, I think, is only partially true, if true at all. *Buddhimati*, *rupubati*, *sundari* are used in connection with the names of persons of the female sex. But such adjectives have come to be used substantively in the language, and their being regarded as *female names* has much to do with their application in the current language. That words like *buddhiman*, *buddhimati*, &c., are used substantively cannot be disputed. The crucial test of inflection proves that they have become substantives in Bengali. It is enough to mention that *buddhimaner*, *buddhimatike* are in use in current Bengali. With regard to *sundari*, it has further to be said that *sundar* is certainly used in connection with feminine nouns, at least by people unlearned in the book language.

Even if the point that a few Sanskrit adjectives naturalised in Bengali still retain in the latter their original feminine forms were fully conceded, it would by no means follow that every adjective taken from Sanskrit should retain the same privilege. That a distinction of gender in adjectives is wholly alien to the spirit of the Bengali language is plain from the fact that no genuine Bengali adjective is ever varied in respect of gender: *motá*, *chhoto*, *kálo* &c., would be used both for males and females, unlike Hindustani which has *motá* and *motí*, *chhotá*, and *chhotí*, *kálá* and *kálí* &c. In the matter of gender, as in most other matters, a slavish adherence to Sanskrit has very much encumbered the written Bengali language.

The union of words by means of *Sandhi* is a characteristic feature of the Sanskrit language, but not of Sanskrit alone. There is such

union in French as *d'or* from *de* + *or*, and in Arabic as *dár-us**—*saltanat* from *dár-ul-saltanat*; *ud-din* from *ul-din*. In Sanskrit, however, there is more of such union perhaps than in any other human language. *Sandhi* is a very intelligible, rational process in Sanskrit. By it 'economy of breath' is secured. But though a rational process in Sanskrit, it is unreason itself when transferred bodily, as it has been, into Bengali. Illustrations will shew this best:—*Manu* + *adi* = *manvadi* in Sanskrit. This is very intelligible indeed: *uá* changes, for facility of pronunciation, into *vá* or rather *wá*. What is this *sandhi*, however, in Bengali? *Manu* + *adi* (in Bengali) = *manbádi* to the eye, and *mannádi* to the ear. Bengali Pandits teach, as if it were an unalterable law of nature, that *u* is changed into *b*. The bewildered pupil cannot of course see the *rationale* of this, and he plies hard his memory, therefore, to get by heart what he is taught. Indeed a good deal of stupid docility is necessary to make one learn the rules of Sanskrit *Sandhi* as they are taught in Bengal. The object of *sandhi* in Sanskrit was economy. In Bengali, it is only a mystification and an obstruction. *Manu ádi* in Bengali would be faultless. *Manbádi* would be pedantry merely.

The question of *Samás* need not detain us long. *Samás* adds greatly to the power of a language; and it may be necessary to sparingly borrow, from Sanskrit, words compounded agreeably to the rules of *Samás*. There are, however, genuine *Samás* compounds in Bengali; which in this respect has a somewhat higher capacity than Hindustani, which forms only a few compounds of this sort, such as *pan-chakki*, *jeb-katra*, &c. In Bengali, however, there are lots of such compounds: *'ámbbgách sosurbári*, *hátbáko gámtkátá*, &c., are instances. Instead of servilely borrowing from Sanskrit in every instance, it would be more rational to avail ourselves of the inherent capacity of our language, and form compounds out of its existing materials. The adoption of compounds like *janaika* is wholly indefensible; for, to say nothing of the fact that *ka* + *jana* is, on psychological grounds, a preferable expression to *jana* + *eka*, we have already in Bengali, the expression *jane* (as in *jane* + *dujon*). *Janaika*, therefore, serves no other purpose than to display before the reader the writer's knowledge of Sanskrit grammatical rules.

Bengali, though superior in many respects to Hindustani, in the simplicity and logical accuracy of its grammatical structure, is inferior, however, to the latter, in several ways. It is not so self-sufficing as Hindustani is; it is much poorer in its derivatives, and must have, accordingly, to lean more upon its parent tongue, Sanskrit. It has few abstract nouns of its own, derived from cur-

* The word is so pronounced, though written *dar-ul-saltanat*.

rent attributive or common terms. To the attributive terms, *motá*, *lambá*, *chaorá*, &c. it has no abstract terms to correspond, such as Hindustani possesses in *mutái*, *lambái*, &c.—Verbs in Bengali have no personal nouns derived from them; there is *chalá*, for instance, corresponding to the Hindustani *chalná*, but no word to answer to *chaluwálá*. *Kháíye*, *gáíye*, and a few other words may be mentioned as instances of verb-derived personal nouns; but besides being extremely limited in number, some of them have a specialised meaning: *Kháíye* means not eater, but a good eater. In respect of abstract nouns derived from verbs, such as *knowledge* from *know*, Bengali and Hindustani are nearly equally in fault, and both have, therefore, in most cases, to borrow. In borrowing abstract terms from Sanskrit, in the case of Bengali, careful discrimination, however, is necessary. In Sanskrit, abstract terms are formed by adding *tá*, *twa*, and *ya* to the attributive root-word. In the current language, abstract terms in *tá*, *twa* (pronounced *tto*) and *ya*, which last re-duplicates the final consonant of the attributive, and adds thereto the sound of *o*, are found; but in respect of new importations it would be best, perhaps, if they could be restricted to abstract terms in *tá*. This particle undergoes no change of sound in Bengali like *twa* and *ya*; and it is besides more consonant to the genius of Bengali to form derivatives by additions at the end simply, without causing any change in the root-word, while *ya*-formed abstract terms change the vowel sounds of the rootword; as, for instance, *prádhánya* (pronounced in Bengali *prádhánno*) from *pradhána* (in Bengali *pradhán*) &c. This latter circumstance gives *tá* no advantage however over *twa*. Indeed *twa* in its Bengali form of *tto*, has, unlike *tá* and *ya*, been *thoroughly* naturalised in Bengali. Truly Bengali words like *baro* &c., form abstract nouns by the addition of *tto*. The right course for us would seem to be to recognise *tto* as a Bengali abstract suffix, and to give it a wider extension than at present. Perhaps examples drawn from other languages may help us to overcome our love for *twa*, which old association has generated. The Latin *trinitas* has given rise to It. *trinità*, Fr. *trinité*, Sp. *trinidad*, and Eng. *trinity* (*triniti*). When such modifications have been undergone by a Latin abstract suffix, and those modifications are distinctly recognised in the most important living languages, why should not a similar modification, in Bengali, of a Sanskrit suffix be duly recognised; why should it be kept so disguised by a vicious system of writing as to pass as identical with its parent form?

The want of ordinals may be mentioned as another instance of the natural poverty of the Bengali language. Ordinals are borrowed from Sanskrit; and from Hindustani also, in the single instance of dates. In this latter case, however, the ordinals have become in

fact substantives. The genitives of the cardinal numerals do in colloquial Bengali the work of ordinals; *duyer*, *tiner* &c., stand for 2nd, 3rd &c. Often, instead of the genitive form of the cardinal numeral, a noun in the genitive form is used after the cardinal. Thus 3rd day would be expressed, not by *tiner din*, but by *tin diner din*. This is no doubt a cumbrous circumlocution, but things must be taken as they are.

As regards the ordinals then, since the existing resources of the Bengali language suffice for expressing all that is expressed by means of ordinals, there is no necessity for falling back upon Sanskrit. A larger employment of the genitives of the numerals than is done in the current language seems to be the direction in which writers should work, instead of overburdening the language with the Sanskrit ordinals. When Sanskrit and Bengali numerals do differ but slightly as *pámch* and *pancha*, an incorporation of corresponding Sanskrit ordinals may not seem to be the introduction of a discordant element. When any of the higher numerals, however, are taken, it is found that the Bengali words by reason of their higher trituration and integration differ greatly from their Sanskrit originals; and in such cases the Sanskrit ordinals, if used in Bengali, would seem highly discordant. *Sixty-fifth* would be *poim-sattir* in current Bengali, while the Sanskrit for it is *pancha-sashítama*. In addition to the reason that such a word, as the last, is not needed in Bengali, its very length ought to be a serious objection. If any borrowing indeed, were necessary in the present instance, I would be more for giving a preference to the bandier ordinals of the Hindustani language to their seven-leagued Sanskrit counter-parts, especially as in this very case, there has been borrowing already from Hindustani in the matter of dates, *pahlá*, *dusrá* &c., &c., being all Hindustani. The Sanskrit ordinals that have been thoroughly naturalised in Bengali are few, as *prathama*, *dvitiya* and *dvádas*. It need hardly be repeated here that I do not in this instance advocate borrowing at all. It is to be mentioned also that our Bengali writers do not confine themselves to borrowing the ordinals from Sanskrit, but borrow, without any necessity whatever, the cardinals also. Eleven, for instance, would be *ekádas* and not *égáro*; forty, *chattárinśa* and not *challis*; two hundred, *dui sata* and not *du-so*, twenty-five thousand, *pamchavinsa sahasra*; and not *pomchis házár*.

Besides those already mentioned there are other derivatives likewise which a cultivated language cannot do without. In our current Bengali speech, for instance, we have a word for man, but none for human, * a word for do, but none for practicable. In

* In current Bengali the genitives attributives like *human* and *practicable* of nouns and infinitives do duty for *able* respectively.

cases where the existing formative powers of the language do not suffice, it would be best to fall back upon Sanskrit. Care, however, should be taken that our language is not unnecessarily burdened; that it is not made to depend more upon the rules of Sanskrit grammar than is absolutely necessary. The object aimed at should be to bring Bengali to a position of independence, and not to keep it perpetually in leading strings. Indiscriminate borrowers from Sanskrit ought again to remember that to master the rules of Sanskrit grammar requires a considerable expenditure of brain power, and that if Sanskrit grammatical forms are to pass current in written Bengali, a large number of human beings will have to incur such expenditure for the acquisition of knowledge of a most elementary kind even. But more of this hereafter.

The question of grammatical forms being now disposed of, the even more important question of vocables may now be taken up. The inflected forms of words, as well as other derivatives, are indeed vocables, inasmuch as they have each an independent existence in the language. What has been said about grammatical forms and derivatives covers therefore a part of the present subject. Grammatical forms and derivatives fall under a few general laws, however; and these laws form but a small item by the side of the numerous body of main words, which, though originally significant of attributes, have come to be now mere conventional symbols for objects and ideas. What is to be said here about vocables may be understood to apply to this latter class of words.

The vocables in use in Bengali, written and spoken, are divisible into three classes. (1) Sanskrit-derived words, but so much altered from their original form as to have necessitated their being written differently from Sanskrit. (2) Sanskrit words bodily transferred, which, though retaining their original spelling, are for the most part pronounced in a peculiarly Bengali way. (3) Words of non-Sanskrit parentage.

The first class of words forms the great body of the spoken language. In the written language, however, they are seldom admitted except in dialogues. Their Sanskrit originals, as a rule, get the preference, and they themselves are cast aside as vulgar.* In mere introductory primers current words are for the most part employed, but side by side with them, there occur also

Besides the advantage gained in respect of variety of expression, an important purpose is served by terms like *human*, which signify all sorts of relations, that of possession being included. The genitive, whatever its original signification may have been, tends to be restricted to the idea of possession, and this specialisation of

meaning makes it necessary that there should be derivative terms signifying all sort of relations.

* The rejection of words which are really vulgar is not objected to here. But why words that are in the mouths of the highest-born and the most learned should be branded as vulgar is what certainly passeth comprehension.

their Sanskrit originals. If there are such words as *bhái*, *kál* (to-morrow), *kán*, *chok*, *soná* (sona) &c., there are also *bhrátá*, *kalyá*, *karna*, *svarna*, &c. It seems, colloquial words are employed at all simply because there is no doing without them. The child knows them and knows no others, and must be first taught to read by means of words that he knows, and not by means of their learned equivalents. But the great object aimed at is to teach the pupil such equivalents in as much profusion and within as short a time as possible. So soon, therefore, as he has mastered the difficulties of Bengali alphabetic writing, one important part of his education comes to be the acquisition of Sanskrit vocables accompanied by a sedulous inculcation on the part of the teacher, that in writing, these vocables should be always employed in lieu of Bengali words that he is familiar with. *Every child in Bengal that learns to read has to learn the Sanskrit equivalents of the commonest names.* He has learnt to call copper *támhá*, leaf *páta*, head *mátá*, horse *ghomrá*, rice *chál* and so forth; but these he must discard for *támra*, *pátra*, &c. What is the earthly good of all this, it is not easy to see; and yet the fact is nothing less than what it is here stated to be. The case is just as if every French child that learns to read and write were taught to write *ferrum* for *fer*, *aurum* for *or*, and so on to the end of the lexicon. From such a heavy and galling, but most unnecessary burden, deliverance is certainly desirable; but an established order of things must have numerous adherents, so that deliverance may be slow in coming after all.

The displacement of familiar Sanskrit-derived Bengali words by their Sanskrit originals can be justified on no reasonable grounds. The ousting of words of non-Sanskrit origin, whether aboriginal or foreign, is equally indefensible. Purism is radically unsound, and has its origin in a spirit of narrowness. In the free commingling of nations, there must be borrowing and giving. Can anything be more absurd than to think of keeping language pure, when blood itself cannot be kept pure? No human language has ever been perfectly pure, any more than any human race has been pure. Infusion of foreign elements do, in the long run, enrich languages, just as infusion of foreign blood improves races. Seeing then that languages, as men speak them, must be mixed, impure, heterogeneous; to reject words like *gorib* (Ar. *garīb*) and *dág* (Ar. *dāg*) &c., from books, on account of their foreign lineage would be most unreasonable. Current words of Persian or Arabic origin connect us, Hindus of Bengal, with *Mysalmán* Bengalis, with the entire Hindustani-speaking population of India, and even with Persians and Arabs. Is it wise to seek to diminish points of contact with a large section of our fellow countrymen, and with kindred and neighbouring races, with whom we must

have intercourse, in order that we may draw closer to our Sanskrit-speaking ancestors?

Human happiness would seem to be better promoted by increased points of contact with *living* men than by increased points of contact with remote ancestors. But men are very often awayed in these matters by sentiment more than by reason. The feeling that impels Bengali Hindus towards Sanskrit is perfectly intelligible. With Sanskrit are associated the days of India's greatest glory, with Persian and Arabic the days of her defeat, humiliation, and bondage. The budding patriotism of Hindus everywhere would therefore naturally eschew Persian and Arabic words as badges of slavery. In the long run, however, considerations of utility are sure to over-ride mere sentimental predilections.

It should be understood that I do not advocate any fresh introduction of Arabic and Persian words, but insist only on the desirability of giving their full* rights to such words as have already been naturalised in the language and are in everybody's mouth. Persian and Arabic words used by Bengalis ignorant of those languages ought to be accepted as right good Bengali. As a matter of fact, many such words, those connected with Law especially, are employed in writing; but the purist spirit is still very active, and a disinclination to admit such words into writing is yet but too common.

Not only does written Bengali, as a rule, seek to supplant current Bengali words by their Sanskrit equivalents; it keeps alive also the antiquated, obsolete forms of current words. These, having once obtained a recognised place in the language of writing, now refuse to be ousted from it. We call rice *chál*, but write it *chául*, *páthure* (stony) similarly becomes *páthuriá*, and the Node of colloquial speech is *Nadiá* in writing. But I need not multiply instances. So numerous are such differences that an inveterate notion seems to have gained a firm hold of the national mind that the current form of a word is not the correct† form.

I look upon this as a most unfortunate thing. The struggle

* The *Sulabh Samáchar*, a professedly popular journal, is doing most useful work this way. But even the *Sulabh* is not *wholly* free from Sanskrit predilections. The word *Sulabh* itself, in the sense of cheap, is an unnecessary importation, and such expressions as *সব্ব কল্লন*, *ভদ্রগরি*, *রত্নগরি* &c., do occur in the paper. But for all this the people of Bengal are deeply indebted to the *Sulabh*, and to certain other newspapers also, though in a less degree.

† A striking instance of such notion is furnished by the word *Inráj*. *Inrej* is the common word for Englishman and *Inrijí*, for English (the language). Whence then this *Inráj*? Its origin must be traced, I suppose, to the inveterate notion above-mentioned; *plus* the fact that the *ráj* in *Inraj* connects the word with the Bengali word *rájá*, a case analogous to the English corruption of *girasole* into *Jerusalem*.

with Sanskrit alone is no light affair, backed as Sanskrit must be with the entire bias of learning and wide-spread association ; and Sanskrit here has a potent ally in the obsolete forms of words rendered classical by Kabikankan, Krittibás, Kasidas, and Bhárat-chandra.

The substitution of Sanskrit for current familiar words and of obsolete for current forms of a certain class of words may both be included under the head of " calling common things by uncommon names." Most of our writers are fully under the sway of this supposed purity-of-style fetish. It is amusing to contemplate the strange shifts to which even our best writers are driven to avoid current expressions. An illustration will shew this best. A writer of deservedly very high reputation has recourse to *utkhep* (*utkshep*) *kariá punarbár haste grahan kará*, as a substitute for the common expression *lopá*. Can anything be more awkward than this ?

The rage for Sanskrit vocables manifests itself in matters, in which learning would seem to have little room. On the license plates of boats that ply in the river Hugli are to be seen *nábik* and *árohi* as the Bengali for crew and passenger respectively ; but none of the crew of any boat, and ninety-nine hundredths of the passengers, have no notion of what the words *nábik* and *árohi* mean. Language has its many sides, and it is but reasonable that the carpenter, the boatman, the shoemaker should give the law in matters connected with carpentry, boat-rowing and shoemaking respectively ; while in matters connected with science or scholarship, the savant or scholar should be the supreme arbiter. In Bengal, however, the Sanskrit-knowing Paudit has in a large measure assumed the function of determining the written language in all its aspects. The mental characteristics of the nation, and its historical antecedents have of course helped to bring about this result.

The present practice of borrowing from Sanskrit is based on no definite principle. Rational borrowing should seek only to supply a felt want. Where words are really wanting in Bengali, there must be borrowing. But such borrowing as has been above described is grounded on no necessity. No limit is set in fact to the extent to which words are to be borrowed from Sanskrit, so that every Sanskrit word is considered to have a rightful claim to be incorporated into Bengali. Is this to enrich the language or to overburden it ? This indeed is carrying us back into the past with a vengeance. In the early flexible stage of Sanskrit, when its formative powers were active, whole hosts of words were formed to express the same thing. Those words were then, as philologists hold, transparent attributive terms, and not the arbitrary symbols that they afterwards became. Men could not, indeed, be so irra-

tional as to invent more than one arbitrary symbol for one and the same thing. Among the many significant symbols expressive of the same idea, there was a struggle for existence and a survival in the long run, of the fittest. More terms than one have in many cases survived ; but on *a priori* grounds it is quite impossible that more than one could survive at the same spot, and among the same class of people. Distance of place, or peculiarities of social organization, by limiting intercourse, could alone cause a selection of different names for the same thing. There has further been a differentiation of meaning between words that originally meant exactly the same thing. Our Sanskrit school of writers would, however, undo all this. They would bring back the dead to life. They would restore to Bengali, which is one of the modern developments of Sanskrit, all the imperfections of the mother-tongue, that have been cast off for good. What a terrible legacy would a wholesale appropriation of the Sanskrit vocabulary leave to posterity? Men of capacity little think of the labor that the acquisition of a language costs ; and of this labor the heaviest part is that required in mastering the vocabulary, which, consisting as it does for the most part, of arbitrary symbols, is dull, dreary matter to learn. Where arbitrary symbols furnish a key to valuable knowledge, the symbols ought surely to be learnt. In the present case, however, the labor spent on the acquisition of words would be vain, meaningless labor. What is the good of learning a new word where one does not learn a corresponding new idea with it? * Perfection of language requires that no two words should express exactly the same idea, and that no two ideas should have the same name. No human language is indeed perfect like this, it is true. But this is no reason why we should work the other way, and go on sanctioning and accumulating defects.

The example of other languages is quoted as a ground for maintaining, and even widening existing differences between spoken and written Bengali. No doubt there are numerous instances in other languages of calling common things by uncommon names. This, however, cannot be looked upon as desirable on any account, and there is a visible tendency in English, at any rate, to assimilate closely the written to the spoken tongue. Dean Alford tells us, 'that the tendency to 'call common things by uncommon names' varies inversely as the writer's culture'; and a late professor of English at the Presidency College used to say, that in

* This is to be taken with a certain limitation. The exigencies of rhythm, versification and artistic effect may make it desirable that there should be in a language more than one word to express the same thing.

But all the words meaning the same thing, in a language, cannot be said to form in the same degree parts of the *living tissue* of the language. *Bilow* is antique and the property of poets, while *wave* is the living word.

England, at the present day, the language spoken by the highest and best-educated has more in common with that of the lower orders than with that of men of inferior education. In taking a survey of the language of a country, the form of it peculiar to any large class of men, such as the men of inferior education in a community must form, is not of course to be left out of account. But the language of the class that stands highest in culture and social position is the standard to which the language of all sections of the community has a tendency to converge. The language of the highest and the most cultivated must be taken then as the normal standard of the language, and in the best English writers the tendency to 'call common things by uncommon names' must be at its minimum. Indeed so far as the cultivated and the uncultivated go together, common sense should dictate that there should be community of language. If indeed the object were to confine knowledge to a caste, there could not be a cleverer contrivance than to make the written language diverge widely from the spoken. Such a contrivance would carry with it its own Nemesis, however. Besides the unnecessary waste of brain-power implied in the acquisition of mere words without additional ideas, there must inevitably result a deterioration of the intellect when it busies itself with mere *word-knowledge*.

In dealing with the question of the employment of Sanskrit words in Bengali writing, the Bengali graphic system cannot be left out of account. This system is nearly as bad as the English; it departs nearly as much from correct phonetic representation as the latter. This however is a wide question in itself, and need not here be further noticed than its direct bearing upon the Sanskrit element of book-Bengali demands. The Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit is as monstrous as the English pronunciation of Latin is or was till* lately; and the Sanskrit words admitted into Bengali are of course all mispronounced, so that they are Sanskrit only to the eye, but not to the ear. This shews that the despised vernacular can, after a certain fashion, assert its rights against unjust encroachments. Let us come now to illustrations. The current Bengali equivalents of fish and sun are *mách* (old Bengali *máchh*) and *sujji* respectively. In books *mách* is made to give way to the Sanskrit *matsya* and *sujji* to *súrjya*, but instead of being pronounced as they are written, which, by the way would be the correct Sanskrit pronunciation, they are pronounced *motso* and *súrja* respectively. We acquire *mách* and *sujji* as a part of our mother-tongue, and the conventional necessity of having further to acquire their corrupt Sanskrit equivalents *motso* and *súrja*, I, for one, must deplore as a most oppressive and unprofitable burden.

* A reform has commenced in England in regard to Latin pronunciation.

There is another class of words which are wrongly accounted to be the same in Bengali as they are in Sanskrit. The Bengali and Sanskrit equivalents of *south* and *lord*, for instance, are written alike in both the languages; but while in Bengali, they are pronounced as *dokkhin* and *issar* respectively, in Sanskrit they are *dakshina* and *isvara*.

It is plain then, that the so-called Sanskrit words in use in written Bengali are in fact neither Sanskrit nor Bengali, but monsters one knows not to call what. The unwise and indiscriminate transfer of Sanskrit words into Bengali has another bad effect little thought of. Certain sounds in Sanskrit are converted into certain other sounds in Bengali, according to definite laws, such as S. into S. These laws cannot be transgressed. Mispronunciation of Sanskrit words introduced into Bengali is therefore a sort of necessity, and this mispronunciation is imported back into Sanskrit, when the Bengali learns that language. The correct pronunciation of Sanskrit, if enforced in our Schools and Colleges, would be a most effective check on the present practice of indiscriminate borrowing from Sanskrit. But on this point hereafter.

The points discussed, and the results arrived at, may here be summarised. The *grammar of written Bengali differs considerably from the grammar of current Bengali. For familiar words understood by all, every one who learns to read has to learn Sanskrit substitutes, and in many cases old Bengali substitutes likewise, which, having dropped out of colloquial speech, still retain their place in the language of books. The Sanskrit words in use in Bengali books are for the most part Sanskrit only to the eye, but none to the ear; for, though written just as they are in Sanskrit, they are pronounced in such a way as to make them almost unintelligible to those unfamiliar with the corrupt pronunciation of Sanskrit that prevails in Bengal.

All this of course has not been the work of a day. It has been the slow growth of ages. It has grown out of the mental characteristics, and the historical antecedents of the race. The question now is, whether the present is a state of things likely to last. The conviction of the present writer is that a change of a radical character is inevitable. The desirableness of a change is indeed so patent, that it is really matter for wonder that the attachment to the established order of things is still so strong that Sir George Campbell's now historically famous language minutes evoked all but universal denunciations from Bengalis.

Bengali, in common with the other Indian vernaculars, derived from Sanskrit, has borrowed most freely from the latter, under

* Those who think that the book-Bengali grammar is the grammar of a Bengali grammar should be kept up *once-current* form of speech. in writing forget that this book-Ben-

influences similar to those which have caused Arabic to be so largely drawn upon by Persians and Turks, and Latin and Greek by the nations of Western Europe. Sanskrit has been in India the language of literary culture and of religion. The Brahman priesthood has always affected a Sanskrit phraseology. Reverence for Sanskrit as a sacred language, however, will be a factor of continually decreasing importance as time rolls on. The Hindu religion will inevitably break up before the onset of western science, and with the Hindu religion a large part of the reverence inspired by Sanskrit will disappear. It will ever command, however, another kind of reverence. Its absolute importance as a language, and its rich literature, serving particularly as a key to the past history of the Aryan race, will ever make it a valued branch of learning. National feeling, too, will impel towards Sanskrit. In continuing to reverence Sanskrit, however, it is by no means necessary that we should, as at present, hold Bengali, Hindi &c., in contempt. The tendency will certainly be to avail ourselves as largely as possible of the living stores of our vernacular tongue, and not to unreasonably proscribe them as vulgar, because they are in use among all classes of the people. The entire Pandit class in Bengal at one time largely employed, in colloquial speech, numerous Sanskrit words, in lieu of their Bengali equivalents. This is now going out of fashion. The language in which eminent Pandits like Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Taranath Tarkavachaspati converse differs in no wise from that of Bengali gentlemen possessing no knowledge of Sanskrit. Among Brahmans of the priestly class alone, does a Sanskrit phraseology yet linger in some measure, and the priests, as before remarked, are a gradually decaying class. The indications are quite clear, therefore, that the purely Sanskrit element in Bengali is destined to be greatly curtailed in future.

The arguments of the advocates of the present system of Sanskrit-borrowing demand an examination in detail. The main arguments are the following :—

1. The dialectic varieties of Bengali are so many, and so conflicting, that without Sanskrit there would be no common standard of purity, no bond of union.

This argument, unfortunately, proves too much. It proves that without the purely Sanskrit element in Bengali there would be no common language for Bengal. If this be the fact, then Bengal by all means should have several written languages instead of one. Convenience—human happiness—must be the plea for cultivating the Bengali language at all. If, by ceasing to borrow from Sanskrit words of the commonest kind, we are to dissolve the linguistic unity of the people of Bengal, by all means let such factitious unity be dissolved at once. Popular education would spread

better, and so human happiness would be better promoted, if the different sections of Bengal set up each its own dialect as the language of writing. The fact, however, is that there is a general grammatical correspondence among the different dialects of Bengal, and the vocables in common use too, are in general the same all over the country. The language of the Maldah, Dacca and Barisal Districts are quite intelligible to people in Calcutta, as the present writer can say from his own experience. Besides, the people of Bengal generally now look upon the metropolis and the districts lying along the Bhagirathi as the parts where Bengali is spoken in its greatest purity.

In the development of literary languages political capitals have in the past exercised but too much influence. Provincialisms have not been allowed fair play. They have but too frequently been kept out of the literary language, simply because they have been provincialisms. A better course than this would be to absorb into the cultivated dialect all that is of value in the several kindred dialects. Such absorption would be more real enrichment of a language than thoughtless borrowing under the bias of learning. If this principle were admitted and acted upon, provincial peculiarities would, generally speaking, have a chance of being incorporated into the literary language, in proportion to the mental activity of the people who speak such dialects. Local centres of culture may thus have their due share of influence on the literary language of a country.

To turn again to Bengal. Supposing even that the Calcutta dialect were to thoroughly over-ride all provincial dialects, there would be much less human unhappiness than under the present régime. On this supposition, the people within a certain radius of Calcutta, at any rate, would not have to learn new names for familiar things; and the people of the rest of Bengal would have to learn far fewer words than if Sanskrit were to be drawn upon, as now, without stint or limit. There would be nothing like the trouble now entailed on all Bengalis who learn to read.

If falling back upon the past be the best means of finding a common ground for all, the remoter this past the better. A revival of Sanskrit, grammar and all, would secure unity all over Aryan India, and not over Bengal alone. Why not seek to make a revived Sanskrit the language of the educated throughout Aryan India, and thus secure a united Indian nationality? No one has been venturesome enough to propose such a thing. Besides, the immeasurable difficulty that would attend such a revival of Sanskrit, a replacing of the handier vernaculars by the cumbrous parent tongue would be decidedly a step backwards. A replacement of the comparatively handier Bengali words by their Sanskrit representatives would likewise be a step backwards, at the same time

that it would demand a meaningless waste of brain-power from all who learn to read.

2. Another argument urged by the advocates of a Sanskritised Bengali style is, that such borrowing has been quite spontaneous, and that this spontaneity must be taken as a proof that the course of development followed by the language could not, and should not change. To this, the answer would be that all that happens in the universe is in consequence of the operation of natural forces, and that things will change, as they have changed ere this, when other forces prevail over those that brought them into being. If Sanskrit-borrowing has been natural, the revulsion of feeling that such borrowing produces in the present writer and others among his countrymen is also natural, and the question can only be, which of the two opposing forces is likely to prove stronger in the end. This question has already been touched upon.

3. It has been urged again and again that Bengali, being a direct descendant of Sanskrit, has every right to borrow from the parent tongue, and that Sanskrit vocables more readily coalesce with the current vernacular tongue than do words from any other source.

As regards the first part of this assertion, it does not at all touch the position taken up by the present writer. He does not denounce all borrowing. He further holds that in most cases Sanskrit should be the best source to borrow from, and his reasons will be given hereafter. It is the *extent* of such borrowing that forms the main point at issue between him and the advocates of the present regime. As stated already, he holds that borrowing should be limited by necessity.

As regards ready coalescence, people's notions about this have much to do with their own acquired mental associations. In the colloquial tongue, we find that English, Persian and Arabic vocables very readily unite with home-grown expressions, and one would think that what happens in the spoken ought to happen in the written language as well. Men's notions of written style are, however, derived from books, and as Bengali books, as a rule, eschew non-Sanskrit words, no wonder that the dogma should spring up that non-Sanskrit words will not readily coalesce with native Bengali. The best refutation of the dogma is the *fact* that English, Persian and Arabic words do mingle very kindly with the current phraseology. The question, in what respects it would be preferable to borrow from Sanskrit rather than from any other source, will be discussed hereafter.

The discussion carried on by the press, when the world of Bengal was thrown into a ferment by Sir George Campbell's Bengali and Urdu minutes, betrayed in some instances a curious confusion that the writers made between words of Sanskrit derivation, and

words bodily transferred from Sanskrit. To the former class of words there can of course be no possible objection, the latter are open to many, and, as they appear to the present writer, insuperable objections.

4. It has been maintained again that as book Bengali is intelligible to all Bengalis with the aid of a dictionary only, the question of the difference between book and spoken Bengali, is quite an immaterial one. *Intelligible with the aid of a dictionary only*; this involves most momentous issues. Every book in English would be similarly intelligible, with the aid of a dictionary, if for all the principal English words in the book German equivalents were substituted. The sort of burden that the present practice of substituting Sanskrit equivalents for even the commonest Bengali words imposes on all who learn to read, has already been fully described, and need not therefore be here dwelt upon.

5. Lastly, it has been maintained that, whatever be the character of written Bengali at present, the State should not by any means interfere with its development. Languages grow spontaneously, and it does not rest with Cæsar, however absolute the power with which he is armed, to mould or modify it.

Fully admitting that language is an organic growth, and therefore not to be coerced into any shape at the fiat of authority, it may quite consistently be maintained that the present is a case which calls for State action. The *laissez faire* argument would have weight, if Government never interfered in the matter at all. It has however interfered in disseminating a knowledge of book Bengali by the establishment of schools and the institution of competitive tests, by the award of scholarships and so forth. Things have *not* been allowed to work themselves out spontaneously. Interference is necessary, at least, as a consequence of past interference still continued. Government again is not prepared to withdraw from the work of popular education; and the interests of millions are involved in the question whether the medium of popular instruction is to be the real vernacular of the country, or the artificialised language in which books are at present generally written. The dumb millions cannot judge, or speak for themselves. If they could, they would with one voice denounce the pedantic jargon that now presses so heavily on them as a dead weight. Governments are most bound to look to the interests of those who cannot take care of their own interests. In a country, again, in the situation of India, the guidance of Government would, in several cases, be on the whole preferable to that of the 'natural leaders of society.' It is only because such lead has failed that the English are in the country at all. If, in respect of all that concerns the preservation of society and its advancement, English guidance has

done for the natives of this country what they could never have done for themselves,* the presumption ought to be that, in the matter of language too, English guidance would be beneficial.

It must not be understood that in maintaining it to be the duty of Government to interfere in the matter under discussion, the present writer means any such thing that the Government should interdict the publication of any books in the present book language. The great mass of Bengali readers relish Sanskritised Bengali. The State should not curtail the happiness of such people by so unwarrantable an act of tyranny as putting their literary language under a ban. It is clearly the duty of the State, however, to take effective measures for the dissemination of useful knowledge among the people through the real vernacular of the people; and by the real vernacular is meant here the language in which the upper and middle classes of the Bengali community converse, and which the language of the lower orders too constantly tends to approach.

To recognise this as the exclusive language of books intended for *primary instruction* would certainly not be to patronise a newly created language. It would amount only to an interdiction of any unnecessary Sanskrit infusion into the language of books intended to convey elementary knowledge. This, in the interest of the masses, the State is bound to do; and for the rest the struggle between the two styles may be left to be fought out between themselves. Of the ultimate issue of such a struggle there can be no manner of doubt. If the fitter is to survive, then the cumbrous learned jargon can have no chance in the long run against the far more economical language that is now the current speech of Bengal.

The State may, further, do one thing more. It may take steps for making the European officers employed in Bengal thoroughly familiar with the current grammar and the current vocabulary of the Bengali tongue. As officers of Government, their utility would be greatly enhanced if they understood the language in which the people actually converse with one another.

A few words as to the way in which Sanskrit in the present writer's opinion can be legitimately drawn upon to enrich Bengali may not here be out of place. The introduction of western civilisation, and the spread of education has necessitated the addition of new words to the current stock of Bengali words. Should these words be adoptions or inventions from the Sanskrit or adoptions from English? From the utilitarian, non-sentimental point of view, the fact that the latter course would inevitably stamp a

* It is not meant that English is inseparable from foreign rule, however rule is without any drawbacks whatever. Certain drawbacks must be good it may be."

mongrel character on the language can have no weight.^{*} If there is real gain in borrowing from English, no purist feeling should be allowed to stand in the way. But the fact is that importations from English are liable to even graver objections than indiscriminate borrowing from Sanskrit. English words imported would be immensely more difficult for the people to learn than even lengthy Sanskrit compounds invented on the occasion. If the principle of borrowing from English were to be fully accepted there could be no stopping at words like *oxygen*, for which there are no ready-made Sanskrit equivalents; but English equivalents of already-existing Sanskrit words would likewise be introduced into Bengali. This would cause much inconvenience and frightful confusion. A scientific or philosophical nomenclature framed out of Sanskrit can, as before observed, be mastered far more easily than the corresponding English nomenclature. Borrowing from English, therefore, would be an obstacle in the way of a spread of knowledge. An illustration may make my position better understood. The Bengali boy, who knows *kará* (to do) and the Hindustani boy who knows *karná*, can far more easily learn the Sanskrit word *kriyá* than the English word *verb*, to understand the real meaning of which he must further go to the Latin *verbum*. *Kar* and *Kriyá* have so much in common as respects sound that there is much greater economy of mental effort in learning *kriyá* than in learning *verb*. Take again such words as *ganit* (mathematics) *petiganit* (arithmetic), &c; their derivation from the same root as the Bengali *ganá* and Hindi *ginná* would greatly help the memory. Some existing Sanskrit terms are again absolutely better than the corresponding ones in English. The Sanskrit *sarvanáma* is a more appropriate term, as Professor * Whitney remarks, than the English term *pronoun*; and Professor Max Müller † says of the grammatical terminology of the Bráhmans generally, that it is 'in some respects more perfect than that of Alexandria and Rome.'

The existence of different scientific and philosophical nomenclatures would again help the advancement of thought. As observed by Dr. Mansel ‡, the possession by Germany of a philosophical nomenclature different from that of the English and of the Latin family of nations has been a help to accurate thought. When India comes to take her place among the civilised community of nations, and contributes her share to the progress of human thought, her possession of independent scientific and philosophical nomenclatures would be a no insignificant force among those that urge forward humanity in the career of advancement.

While scientific and philosophical terms would seem to be best

* *Language and the study of Language*, First Series, p. 104.
 † *Prolegomena Logica*, Oxford Edition, 1851, p. 37.

‡ *Lectures on the Science of Lan-*

guage, 3rd Edition, p. 258.

drawn from Sanskrit, a wide door should be left open for the introduction into writing of foreign words, English or other, that under the pressure of necessity force their way into the current speech. It would be unreasonable purism to exclude from books such handy, naturalised words as map, slate (silet), pencil (pencil), and to seek to supply their place by new coined Sanskrit equivalents.

In the case of newly introduced material objects of common use, the direct adoption of foreign words in the oral language would be the natural course, and the written language can here do no better than follow the oral. The adoption of unusual foreign words where accurate native or even Sanskrit equivalents cannot be found would again be sometimes necessary. Visvavidyalaya (Bengali pronunciation *bissobiddhā*) answers very inadequately to University, in its present acceptation. A downright adoption in writing of *University* would be better than finding a substitute. In inventing words again out of Sanskrit elements, it ought to be further borne in mind that the compounds formed should be handy ones, fit to be used colloquially. This has in many instances been lost sight of, and the tendency has been but too strong towards compounds, often lengthy, formed out of unfamiliar materials.

An enforcement of the correct pronunciation of Sanskrit in our Schools and Colleges, very desirable on other grounds, would act as a powerful check upon borrowing from Sanskrit. In enforcing correct Sanskrit pronunciation, Government would but complete the work it initiated by introducing into Bengal the Devanagari character. Sanskrit books are now read in Bengal in the Devanagari character, and the incorrect pronunciation, of Sanskrit that is allowed in all the Bengal schools and Colleges, the Sanskrit College itself included, is an evil that calls for remedy. The State has already innovated by introducing the Devanagari character. An enforcement of the correct Sanskrit pronunciation cannot, therefore, be objected to.

A word here about the large mass of Sanskrit words that popular poetry has already appropriated seem to be necessary. Such words have a right to be employed, where required, in poetry and impassioned prose; but in ordinary prose composition they should be held inadmissible, for they form no part of the *living tissue* of the language. লড়াই and যুদ্ধ are *living* words, while রণ, সমর and সংগ্রাম are *antique* and *poetical*.

In cultivating Bengali and the other Aryan vernaculars of India, the romance languages of Europe should be our guide. There can be no reason why our vernaculars should lean more upon Sanskrit than French, Italian, and Spanish, do upon Latin.

BYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

POETRY :—SONNETS FROM THE FRENCH OF
LE COMTE F. DE GRAMONT.

Translated by Miss Toru Dutt.

1.—ISOLATION.

Fall, fall, O snow, from thy thick heavy clond
In silent showers ; encumber vales, and plains,
And heights, with thy white plumes, till nought remains,
Nor herb, nor tree, without its silver shroud.
Safe in that shelter from the north-winds loud,
When Spring, returning, their rude breath restrains,
More prompt the earth shall smile, in genial rains,
And leaves start forth in all their splendour proud.
Blest isolation from the world, I see
Herein thy emblem ; may thy winding-sheet
Guard my soul likewise till its latest hour,
That so through all its journey, it may be
Patient, until God's love with generous heat
In heaven unfolds the blossom into flower.

2.—FREEDOM.

By iron bars the lion proud hemmed round,
The sovereign lion with the terrible eyes,
Vanquished, yet still invincible, defies
Not by vain efforts but a calm profound.
Idle, he sits, as wont, upon the ground,
His claws drawn in their sheath, and none descries
In his unchanging front the rage that lies
Deep in his bosom without sign or sound.
'Tis sometimes only, when he snuffs the storm
Sweeping afar, he stirs and lifts his form,
Savage, magnificent. Then to hear his roar
The gaolers tremble, —but he drops anew ;
Not long has he to pine on dungeon-floor ;
He chokes for freedom : death must soon ensue.

3.—OBEDIENCE.

In thy strong teeth bite hard thy bit of steel,
Curve on thy chest thy nostrils belching fire,
Hold in thy strength, and check thy generous ire,
War-horse impatient in thy battle-zeal.

Mid the fierce onset where the standards reel,
And bright swords flash, and cannons thunder dire,
Fain wouldst thou fly, and there with joy expire,
Proud in thy blood thy loyalty to seal.
But where's the signal? Wait. Thy foam devour,
Smoothen thy mane, and dull thine eye's red flush,
With pricked-up ears attent until the hour,
True to thy Rider's will. So when it rings,
That glorious hour, thou shalt have leave to rush
Through space entire, not on thy feet but wings.

4.—THE PRESENT AGE.

Vile Sloth and greedy Self-love hunt as game
Each noble Virtue honored in the past,
Man grovels in a cess-pool dim and vast
And hides not now but blazons out his shame.
So well proscribed is the celestial flame
That glory's antique hymn is hushed at last,
And Bard and Prophet with the idiots classed
Raise mockful laughter more than serious blame.
'Shall we on laurels feed or dress in flowers?
'Go, foolish poet, in thy garret dream!'
So speak the crowds insatiate in all hours
For filthy gold. Well! Let them thus blaspheme.
Care not for them, but mustering thy powers
O Soul, well-born, pull hard against the stream.

5.—POESY.

Thou canst not die, my foolish fears are vain,
O Muse! O Poesy! My love for aye!
Thou livest and shalt live. The sun, the day,
Are less than thee, the life of hill and plain!
Long as the Spirit makes the heart its fane,
And homewards, Godwards, lifts our eyes, thy ray
Shall light our path, and thy bewitching lay
Our exile charm and mitigate our pain.
And ye, who scorn her art, ye worldly-wise,
Or who profane it, which is guiltier far,
Ye may dégrade yourselves, and blind your eyes
And close your ears, but ye can never mar
Her glory with your boastful blasphemies,
Nor quench in heaven the lustre of one star.

6.—HOMER.

O wild young savage wrapt in Homer's lore
 Who fliest the talk of our logicians wise,
 And sports, and rich-decked feasts, and beauty's eyes,
 What dost thou, night and day, along the shore ?
 I wait. For what ?—Grand is that hungry roar
 Of storm-vexed ocean as it earth defies
 But grander are these histories.—They are lies,
 And wasted hours no penance can restore.—
 I care not I would see as here I roam,
 Astarté rise immortal from the foam
 Whom in my dreams I worship. Hope commands
 A patient out-look to the sky's dim line,
 For often have I seen upon these sands,
 The impress of her conch and foot divine.

7.—A CHARACTER OF THE OLDEN TIME.

A valiant heart, simple, correct, austere,
 Hewn from the solid rock, sincere as gold,
 Straight as an iron rod ;—a man of old,
 Whose noble nature never knew a fear.
 Adulterous interests from his duty clear
 He chased afar ; his conscience never sold ;
 Dared dangers terrible and manifold,
 And when they ended, dropped into the rear.
 Under the antique flag, how prompt his lance !
 But not the less his hate of foreign rule,
 Gentleman, subject of the King of France,
 Upon the Rhine, in Lyons' noble school,
 In Vendée, and wherever he had chance,
 He shed his blood, faithful, and yet no tool.

8.—MY STRENGTH IS MADE PERFECT IN WEAKNESS.

Cured, but still weak, like him I sometimes feel
 That hath the dropsy ; from his burden freed,
 Of help divine who has continued need,
 And cannot march but still appears to reel.
 Happy the blind from birth with holier zeal,
 The paralytic with more faith, who heed
 At once the Saviour's words sublimed, and speed
 Clear-eyed and strong, with nothing left to heal.
 But, though less full, unmeasured and not vain
 The grace that's given me. May I watch with care,

Daily and nightly on the couch of pain,
Attentive to the Voice that says,—‘Beware !
What thou hast done, thou yet may’st do again,
What others do, thou too might’st rashly dare !’

[We grieve to say that, since the above Sonnets were prepared for publication in the *Calcutta Review*, their gentle and accomplished author has passed away to her rest. Miss Toru Dutt’s girlhood—she was scarcely more than twenty when she died—was one of the richest promise, as those of our readers who have followed her occasional contributions to this Review will fully recognise ; and an earlier collection of her poems, entitled *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields*, was of such marked excellence as to attract a great deal of attention and praise both here and in England. Of Indian birth—a daughter of Babu Govin Chunder Dutt, a well-known and respected citizen of Calcutta—Miss Dutt was educated almost entirely in Europe. She wrote English with all the delicacy and good-taste of a highly cultivated Englishwoman ; and many of her short poems displayed a tender, half-sad eloquence and a depth of religious feeling, illuminated by a pure and lofty imagination, which promised to obtain for her an honored place amongst English poets of the present day. Such was the hope of the young life which has just been cut off at its very opening. The flower has been plucked in the bud : but to those who sorrow for its untimely fate, the words which close the first Sonnet given above—words which breathe “a sure and certain hope”—may well afford consolation :—

God’s love, with generous heat,
In heaven unfolds the blossom into flower.

Editor, *Calcutta Review*.]

